LOK SABHA DEBATES

(Part I – Questions and Answers)

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सत्यमेव जयते

SEVENTH SESSION

1954

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT

NEW DELHI

LOK SABHA

Tuesday, 31st August, 1954

The Lok Sabha met at a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

TARIFF COMMISSION'S REPORT ON THE BICYCLE INDUSTRY

***280. Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Tariff Commission has submitted its report regarding protection to the Bicycle Industry; and

(b) if so, what are its findings?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Yes.

(b) The report is under consideration of Government.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know if the question of the standardisation of the quality of bicycles is also being taken into consideration?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: As soon as Government completes its consideration, the statute enjoins on me to place the Government resolution or conclusions on the Table of the House and I will probably be doing it in a week.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know the question of allocation of the production to different factories will also be decided by the Government?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: That would not arise directly out of the recommendations of the Tariff Commission but it is a matter of day to day decision so far as Government is concerned and if Government is forced to make a decision in this regard, I suppose Government would do something about it.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know if some attempt will be made for the better marketing facilities for these bicycles in such a way that there is no need of any import from any other country?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The question of import and local production is tied up with the question of demand. Production might be set at a particular figure, say 4,00,000. If the demand progressively rises, as I believe it is rising—we want it to rise—naturally, the gap must be filled by imports.

PHARMACEUTICAL ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

***281. Shri V. P. Nayar:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the terms of reference of the Pharmaceutical Enquiry Committee; and

(b) whether the Committee has submitted its report and if so, what its recommendations are?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 15.]

(b) Yes, Sir. The report of the Committee is being printed and will be laid on the Table of the House very shortly.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether it is not a fact that partnerships of foreign manufacturers in Indian enterprises are mainly carrying on manufacture of intermediate and penultimate products and they are not exploiting the basic raw materials of the country?

Mr. Speaker: How is it related to the question?

Shri V. P. Nayar: I find in the statement supplied to us this expression "whether the product is made from imported intermediates and penultimate products or from basic raw materials and chemicals....." This seems to have been one of the terms of reference.....

Mr. Speaker: That is all right; let the report come.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I was asking whether the Committee has reported...

Mr. Speaker: I think it is going into some other details; it did not arise out of this question.

Shri V. P. Nayar: It does. May I know if the Committee has gone into the question of pricing of imported drugs and chemicals?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The Committee's report will be before the House shortly.

Shri Bansal: May I know if an opportunity will be given to the House to discuss that report?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: In regard to any matter placed before the House, it is for the House to ask for a discussion, and so far as I am concerned I am always in the hands of the House if it wants a discussion; it can have a discussion if it could find time in addition to its other business, urgent or otherwise.

Shri V. P. Nayar: I find from the statement that one of the terms of reference does not unfortunately happen to be the chances of manufacturing antibiotics like penicillin, aureomycin, etc. in this country. May I know why it is so and why it was not referred to the Committee?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I believe the report does make a reference to this particular subject and the hon. Member will find this when he scrutinises it.

Ford Foundation Team

*282. **Shri S. N. Das:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) the main recommendations of the Ford Foundation Team which recently toured India for a study of the industries;

(b) whether these recommendations have been considered by Government; and

(c) if so, which of them are proposed to be implemented by Government and in what manner?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) to (c). Attention is invited to the Report of the Team and Government Resolution No. 53-Cot.Ind.(A)(12)/54 dated the 7th June, 1954 thereon, copies of which were laid on the Table of the House on the 23rd August, 1954.

Shri S. N. Das: Since the Government accepted to implement some of the recommendations of this Commate of men and money required for the purpose has been made, and if so, what is that estimate?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: It is being prepared.

Shri S. N. Das: May I know whether any decision as to the allocation of the industries has been taken, and if so, what are the places?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Tentatively, the decision is that one should be located in the north, near Delhi; another in Calcutta; a third in Madurai; a fourth somewhere in Bombay, probably at Poona or at Bombay city.

INDIAN LABOURERS IN MALAYA

*283. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Indian labourers in Malaya are given any facility to buy land there under the Federation Special Land Settlement Scheme; and

(b) if so, whether they can buy land like other inhabitants of Malaya?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) As far as we know there is no "Federation Special Land Settlement Scheme". There have, however, been many schemes to settle Indians, Chinese and Malays on land. Since last year, the local Government are offering land to potential South Indian paddy planters.

(b) Indian labourers are given facilities to buy land in the Federation of Malaya like other inhabitants of Malaya except in Malay Reservations in the States and customary tenure land in Malacca.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The Parliamentary Secretary stated that Chinese, Malay and Indian labourers are practically treated on the same footing. May I know whether there is any proposal there to enact any legislation or issue any statute to provide such facilities to Indians?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: If the hon. Member wants to know about the settlement question, the Federal Government have started a number of schemes to settle Indian labourers and as far as we know there are about five schemes investigated by the local governments and so far one has been accepted. It covers the question of settlement.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Is the Government in a position to say the acreage of land which an Indian labourer is entitled to buy there—I mean the maximum?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: It varies, I believe. This scheme covers the Tanjong Karang area; 500 acres have been given to settle 148 families. So, it varies from place to place.

Shri P. C. Bose: May I know if any Indian labourer working there for a long time has become full citizen of Malaya, and if so, under what conditions?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: We have advised them to become citizens.

Shri Bishwa Nath Roy: May I know if Government have any information about the number of Indian nationals who have got landed property in Malaya?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: We have no information.

Shri Bishwa Nath Roy: I hope about.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I am going to the next question.

ASSISTANCE TO NEPAL

*284. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to refer to the reply to starred question No. 1175 asked on the 22nd March, 1954 and state:

(a) the assistance that has been given by India to Nepal under the Colombo Plan or otherwise for the development of that country during the last two years; and

(b) whether any further assistance is proposed to be given during the current financial year?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Approximately Rs. 1½ crores.

(b) Yes. It is difficult to estimate the exact figure since it would depend on the progress of the schemes under implementation.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether any assistance has been given to Nepal in the form of technical advisers?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: Yes, Sir.

Sardar Hukam Singh: What is their number—the number of people who have been lent?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: About four, so far.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether the demonstration against our goodwill mission in June last gave any indication that the Nepalese were against receipt of this assistance in the form of technical advisers?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: I do not think so.

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha: May I know whether the Government of India had so far made any commitment on the amount of aid that is to be given to Nepal, and if so, what is the amount?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: There is no question of commitment; some aid has been given to Nepal.

Shri Tarkeshwari Sinha: May I know if the Indian Minister to Nepal, Mr. Gokhale, has made a statement that about Rs. 7½ crores ought to be given to the Nepal Government?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: I am not aware of that statement.

भाखड़ा-नंगल की बिजली

*२८५. **सेठ गोविन्द दास:** क्या सिंचाई तथा विद्युत मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या पंजाब सरकार भाखड़ा-नंगल परियोजना से तैयार हुई बिजली मथुरा तथा उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्य क्षेत्रों को दे रही है या का विचार कर रही है; और

(ख) क्या चम्बल परियोजना से मथुरा तथा आगरा जिलों को भी लाभ पहुंचेगा ?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) The matter is under consideration of Government.

(b) The Government of Uttar Pradesh have asked for the reservation of 300 cusecs of water for irrigation in Bah Tehsil in Agra District from the Chambal project but a final decision has not yet been reached.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : अभी तक जो बिजली यहां पर उत्पन्न होती हैं वह कहां कहां दी जाती हैं ?

श्री हाथी : बिजली अभी तक उत्पन्न नहीं होती हैं, जब उत्पन्न होवेगी तब पंजाब, राजस्थान और पेप्स् में दी जायेगी ।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : कब तक आशा की जाती हैं कि बिजली का उत्पादन आरम्भ हो जायेगा ?

श्री हाथी : सितम्बर तक ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : क्या यह सत्य हैं कि उत्तरप्रदेश सरकार को इस बारे में लिखा गया था, और उन्होंने बिजली लेने से इंकार कर दिया हैं क्योंकि भाखड़ा नांगल की बिजली बहुत मंहगी पड़ रही हैं ?

Shri Hathi: Yes, Sir, they did say that the tariff was rather high. But we have suggested that they will be supplied power at the same rate at which the participating States will get it.

श्री बंसल : क्या मैं यह जान सकता हूं कि जितनी बिजली पंजाब में पैदा होगी वह पंजाब और पेप्स् के लिये काफी होगी और यह क्या जरूरी हैं कि वह बिजली यू० पी० को दी जाय ?

Shri Hathi: There will be surplus power generated from Bhakra which can be given conveniently to U.P.

Detention of French Plane

*286. **Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any Saigon bound French aircraft was detained in Calcutta recently;

(b) the reasons for its detention;

(c) whether anything objectionable was found in the possession of the passengers; and

(d) if so, what?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) and (b). A large number of French Military & Civil aircraft pass through Dum Dum. All aircraft which land at that airport are checked before they depart. Sometime ago a French civil aircraft was found carrying military stores. As such aircraft are not allowed under our rules to carry military stores, it had to be detained for a special check.

(c) and (d). A number of passengers were found to be carrying articles of military uniforms with them. Some of them had sealed covers and other documents addressed to or emanating from the military authorities. Steel helmets were found with 6 passengers 3 revolvers were also found in the baggage and 3 of the passengers carried ammunition as well.

The aircraft also carried cargo which included some packages of stretchers and films. 4 boxes contained SKF Bearings. Besides there were 20 unmanifested packages.

All objectionable articles in the cargo as well as in the baggage were removed from the aircraft after which it was allowed to depart.

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha: May I know how many passengers there were in that aircraft and whether they were Red Cross personnel or regular military men?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: There were altogether 84 passengers in that aircraft, and all except one claimed to be civilians.

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha: May I know whether the same plane was detained at Palam and, if so, whether any search was conducted at that time?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: No, Sir, this identical plane was not detained at Palam.

Shri Thimmaiah: May I know whether the ammunition found in the aircraft was confiscated or returned to the French authorities?

Shri Anil K. Chanda: These articles were dealt with according to the law.

SABARMATI RIVER VALLEY PROJECT

*287. **Shri Dabhi**: Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Central Water and Power Commission had forwarded a copy of its report on the Sabarmati River Valley Project to the Bombay Government;

(b) if so, whether the Bombay Government had made any recommendation to the Planning Commission about the inclusion of the Project in the Second Five Year Plan; and

(c) the main features including the economic aspects of the scheme or schemes proposed by the Commission?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) and (b). Yes, Sir.

(c) A statement giving the requisite information is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 16.]

Shri Dabhi: May I know whether this project is likely to be included in the Second Five Year Plan?

Shri Hathi: That will depend upon the recommendation of the Technical Advisory Committee appointed by the Planning Commission.

Shri Dabhi: Has that Advisory Committee given any indication about it?

Shri Hathi: No, that Committee has not yet examined it.

BETEL NUTS AND BETEL LEAVES

*289. **Shri Jhulan Sinha**: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state the name of the State where the consumption of betel nuts and betel leaves is the heaviest?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): Government have no information.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING SCHEME

*290. **Shri K. P. Sinha:** Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of houses already constructed till June 1954 under the Industrial Housing Scheme sponsored by the Union Government; and

(b) the total number of houses that are under construction?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) and (b). Out of 38,921 tenements sanctioned by the Government of India under the Industrial Housing Schemes, 17,498 tenements had been completed upto June, 1954 and 10,749 were under construction during that month.

Shri K. P. Sinha: May I know the names of the States which have not yet taken any part in this scheme and whether they have given any reason for the same?

Sardar Swaran Singh: Sir, I think it will be a shorter reply if I gave the names of the States that have taken part, and the rest can be inferred. The States that have taken part in the Scheme are Delhi, Orissa, Mysore, Uttar Pradesh, Bhopal, Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Punjab, and West Bengal. These States have taken advantage of it.

Shri K. P. Sinha: May I know the number of houses constructed by empolyers and co-operatives?

Sardar Swaran Singh: The total number of houses for which financial assistance has been given to the employers is 5,767 out of which 2,277 houses have been completed. In the case of co-operatives the total number of tenements for which financial assistance has been sanctioned is 618.

Shri Thimmaiah: May I know the total amount of money spent on these tenements?

Sardar Swaran Singh: I am sorry the total figure is not available with me at the moment.

Shri Tushar Chatterjea: May I know the figures of the houses constructed industry-wise?

Sardar Swaran Singh: There is no such breakup available with me at the moment.

TYPEWRITERS

*291. **Shri Jethalal Joshi:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state the number of new typewriters in demand in this country each year and whether there is any proposal for indigenous production of these machines?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): It is difficult to estimate the demand for new typewriters as it has differed very much during the past 3 years. There are a few schemes for their manufacture in this country.

Shri Jethalal Joshi: May I know the number of imports in 1952-53 and 1953-54?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: 1952-53: 17,792. 1953-54: 11,336.

Shri Jethalal Joshi: May I know whether there is any agreement between the Government of India and any foreign concern for the manufacture of typewriters?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The Government of India makes no such agreements.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: May I know if there have been any import of Hindi typewriters?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I would like to have notice.

Shri Joachim Alva: May I know whether the application of Godrej Almirah Manufacturers to put up a scheme for Godrej typewriters at low price cost was held up for a long time in order to enable Remingtons to put up a factory in Calcutta?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I will not allow that. Any question which contains an insinuation or argument will not be permitted.

Shri Joachim Alva: But these are facts.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. That is his inference.

Seth Govind Das: Is it a fact that as far as Hindi typewriters are concerned, the key-board has not yet been made final and there is very great difficulty for purchasers in this respect?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I remember having answered a question on this subject last session. But I do not carry all the details in my mind. If notice is given I can answer it again.

INDO-PAKISTAN AGREEMENT ON SHRINES

*292. **Shri Krishnacharya Joshi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) the progress being made by the Government of Pakistan in implementing the Agreement of August 1953 in regard to preservation of shrines and holy places; and

(b) whether the Government of Pakistan are giving facilities to the Indian pilgrims who visit shrines in Pakistan?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) The August 1953 Agreement stipulated, *inter alia*, that the Governments of India and Pakistan should make every effort to ensure that places of religious worship are properly protected and maintained and their sanctity preserved, particularly in the case of buildings of historical importance. The Government of Pakistan conveyed their ratification of this Agreement on the 20th April, 1954. It is too early, therefore, to indicate at this stage the actual progress made by that Government in implementing the Agreement on this subject.

(b) Yes, Sir.

Shri Krishnacharya Joshi: What is the total number of shrines in Pakistan?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: There are 1,028 shrines in West Pakistan that are in need of looking after.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The answer to part (b) of the question was in the affirmative. May I know whether the pilgrims who intend to visit Pakistan receive intimation from the Government of Pakistan in time or not?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: I believe so, Sir.

Shri N. L. Joshi: May I know the Hindu places of pilgrimage in Pakistan?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: They are mixed shrines, Hindu and Sikh shrines. I have not got the information with me.

TRADE TALKS BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA

*293. **Shri A. M. Thomas:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether there have recently been any trade talks between India and China in New Delhi;

(b) if so, whether any agreement has been reached as to the possibilities of increasing the volume of trade between the two countries; and

(c) if so, on what lines?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). The negotiations are still in progress.

Shri A. M. Thomas: May I know what is the present position of trade between India and China and whether any special difficulties have been felt by both the countries in this regard?

Shri Karmarkar: Does my hon. friend want me to give the figures of exports and imports to and from China?

Shri A. M. Thomas: Total.

Shri Karmarkar: In 1953-54, the total figure was, exports to China, Rs. 79,67,000 as against Rs. 41,25,000 in 1952-53. Imports from China in 1952-53: the figure was Rs. 13,03,00,000. That was due to rice, grain and pulse flour that we imported from China. In 1953-54, it was Rs. 99,00,000.

Shri Nanadas: May I know whether the proposed export of tobacco to China will have to wait until we finalise the negotiations with the Chinese Government?

Shri Karmarkar: No, Sir.

Shri Bansal: Is there any proposal under the consideration of Government to exchange trade delegations between the two countries?

Shri Karmarkar: It does not arise out of this question, I am afraid.

JUTE ENQUIRY COMMISSION

*294. **Shri Tushar Chatterjea:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have considered the report of the Jute Enquiry Commission; and

(b) if so, which of its recommendations are to be implemented?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) It is expected that a resolution on the subject will be published shortly.

Shri Tushar Chatterjea: May I know whether there is any proposal before the Government from the Jute Mills Association to increase the working hours?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The working hours have recently been increased from 42½ to 45. If the present demand for jute goods continues, perhaps a further increase may be necessary.

Shri Tushar Chatterjea: May I know whether it is a fact, that, on the question of increasing the working hours, the Jute Mills Association has proposed to the Government that they are prepared to increase to 48 hours provided the export duty is abolished?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I do not think the Government would entertain such a bargain.

Shri N. B. Chowdhury: May I know whether the Government are aware that there is a strong public opinion against some of the recommendations of the Commission, for instance, the opening of the futures market and the Commission's inability to recommend fixation of minimum price of jute?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Government are aware of the recommendations of any Commission. Certain portions of those recommendations must be controversial.

D.V.C. (IRRIGATION)

*295. **Pandit D. N. Tiwary:** Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any irrigation is done in Bihar by the Damodar Valley Project;

(b) the total area under irrigation; and

(c) the revenue derived therefrom during 1953-54?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) No, Sir. A scheme for the utilisation of water from the Tilaya project for Irrigation in Bihar is under the consideration of the D. V. C.

(b) Nil.

(c) Nil.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: Under the irrigation scheme which is being considered by the D. V. C., may I know what part of Bihar or what acreage is likely to be irrigated?

Shri Hathi: The Bihar Government has prepared a scheme for irrigating certain areas. I cannot exactly say which districts will be irrigated.

Mr. Speaker: Can he give the acreage? He wants that also.

Shri Hathi: About 7,500 arces or so.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: May I know whether any irrigation is to be done in West Bengal under this project?

Shri Hathi: Areas in Bengal will be irrigated under this in the 1954-55 crop.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सिंचाई का प्रबन्ध कब तक निश्चित रूप से हो जायेगा, और इस सम्बन्ध में बिहार सरकार से कौन सी बातें तय पाई गई हैं ?

Shri Hathi: The Bihar Government has, I said, prepared a scheme at a cost of Rs. 27,00,000 which will irrigate an area which I just mentioned. That scheme has been approved by the D.V.C. It will take some time before it is finalised.

Shri T. N. Singh: I want to know whether it is intended now to utilise the reservoir at Tilaiya for irrigation purpose as against the previous project design.

Shri Hathi: Even in the previous project there was some element of irrigation. It was not purely for flood control. There was an element of irrigation also.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय मेरे प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं मिला ।

Mr. Speaker: I am going to the next question.

उन्होंने कहा है कि सरकार इस का प्रबन्ध करेगी और बिहार सरकार ने स्कीम तैयार की है ।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : कब तक तैयार हो जायेगी ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इस में थोड़ा समय लगेगा।

A.I.R.

*296. **Th. Lakshman Singh Charak:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the action Government have taken in meeting the linguistic requirements of all A.I.R. Stations; and

(b) whether the present staff have been asked to learn more languages for linguistic facility?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) The present permanent administrative staff of All India Radio has not been recruited keeping view of the linguistic requirements of the various Stations. Therefore, certain language groups have unfortunately little representation. Proficiency of the language of the region is of some importance for only the lower grade Programme Executives and Programme Assistants. Every effort is being made to utilise the present strength in the best manner possible. The only satisfactory solution of a permanent nature would be to have a separate production staff of competent persons for Programmes which will do justice to the linguistic needs of the Stations.

(b) The staff at Hindi Stations and those dealing with programmes at other Stations are required to pass a proficiency examination in Hindi. They are also encouraged to learn one or more regional languages.

Th. Lakshman Singh Charak: May I know if the Government holds any departmental examination to ensure that the linguistic knowledge of the staff remains up-to-date?

Dr. Keskar: This question has been taken up for consideration now. The position of the permanent administrative staff was in a fluid condition up to last year. It is only last year that the U.P.S.C. regularised and finalised the structure of the cadre. The question of having some sort of proficiency tests for languages has been taken up now.

Shri A. M. Thomas: During the discussion of the Budget Demands for this particular Ministry last time, opinion was expressed about the desirability of having programmes in important Indian languages, for instance, Malayalam, for the benefit of Indians in South East Asia. Has the Government considered this proposal? If so, with what results?

Dr. Keskar: Does it arise out of this question?

Mr. Speaker: It refers to all languages. Linguistic requirements of all stations are there.

Dr. Keskar: This relates to broadcasting outside India. The question is certainly under consideration, whether there should be broadcasting in Malayalam. That much I can tell the hon. Member. I would not be able to give any further information without looking into the matter.

TRAINING CENTRE IN U.P.

*297. **Ch. Raghubir Singh:** Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to start a training centre for Block Development Officers in U.P. in the near future; and

(b) if so, which place has been selected for this purpose?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

CHEAP RADIO SETS

*298. **Shri Bibhuti Mishra:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are producing cheap radio sets for the use of the common people living in villages;

(b) if so, the lowest price charged; and

(c) the names of the supplying agencies?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) No, Sir.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : गांव की जनता को आसानी से रेडियो सेट मिल जाय और कम कीमत में मिले इस के लिये सरकार क्या योजना बना रही है ?

डा० केसकर : सरकार यह जरूर चाहती है कि गांव की जनता को सस्ते से सस्ता रेडियो सेट मिले, लेकिन सस्ते रेडियो सेट के लिये प्रयत्न करने से पहले सरकार के लिये जरूरी था कि वह ऐसे रेडियो स्टेशन बनावे कि वह सस्ते से सस्ते रेडियो सेट से सुने जा सकें, और इसी में सरकार इस वक्त लगी हुई है । ऐसे ट्रान्समीटर्स और स्टेशन बनाने के बाद अगर सरकार को यह महसूस होगा कि इन्डस्ट्री के लोग सस्ते से सस्ता सेट नहीं बनावेंगे तब इस सवाल को मैं सरकार में उठाने का प्रयत्न करूंगा ।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : उत्तर बिहार बहुत बड़ा एरिया है, उस में सरकार ने कौन सा रेडियो स्टेशन बनाया है ?

डा० केसकर : पटना स्टेशन को इस योजना में और शक्तिशाली बनाने का हमारा विचार है।

Shri Ramachandra Reddi: May I know whether radio sets are considered to be luxury goods, what the import duty thereon is and what the dealer's commission thereon is?

Dr. Keskar: I would require notice because I would have to refer to the Commerce Ministry.

Shri V. P. Nayar: May I know whether it is a fact that one of the leading business houses of Bombay engaged in the distribution and assembly of radio sets submitted a very detailed scheme in 1953 to the Government of India for the manufacture of radio sets which will cost only Rs. 100 or Rs. 125, and if so, what action has Government taken?

Dr. Keskar: I would require notice for answering such detailed questions. As far as I am aware, no such scheme for manufacture of very cheap sets has come to me.

ब्राजील

*२९९. **श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी :** क्या **प्रधान मंत्री** यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) बम्बई में ब्राजील के अवैतनिक वाणिज्य दूत श्री हेरेडिया के पदच्युत [illegible]

जाने पर ब्राजील के राजदूत को खेद प्रदर्शन करने के लिये जो पत्र भेजा गया था उसका क्या उत्तर प्राप्त हुआ है;

(ख) क्या भारत में पुर्तगाली बस्तियों के सम्बन्ध में ब्राजील सरकार की भारत विरोधी नीति के बारे में कोई कार्यवाही की गई है; और

(ग) यदि हां, तो क्या ?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) The Brazilian Government in their reply have stated that as Mr. Heredia was a Consul of Brazil, he was subject to the Brazilian foreign service discipline and therefore his dismissal was an act of domestic jurisdiction within their competence. The Government of India do not accept this contention of the Brazilian Government. As far as they are concerned Mr. Heredia, although an honorary Consul of Brazil, continued to be an Indian national, and he is deemed to have resigned from his post.

(b) and (c). We have expressed to the Brazilian Government our disappointment in seeing Brazil taking a partisan attitude on the question of the Portuguese possessions in India and that we expect Brazil to take an objective view, and use her influence with Portugal to give up her present deplorable policies and enter into friendly negotiations with India for a settlement.

श्री एम० एल० द्विवेदी : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि भारत में पुर्तगाली उपनिवेशों के सम्बन्ध में ब्राजील सरकार के रुख में सुधार करने की भारत सरकार ने क्या कोई कोशिश की है, और यदि हां, तो अब उस सरकार का क्या रुख है ?

प्रधान मंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य एवं रक्षा मंत्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : ऐसे सवालों का आम तौर से जवाब नहीं दिया जाता ।

MIGRATION CERTIFICATES

***300. Shri B. K. Das:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) how many migration certificates were issued to the Hindus in East Bengal during the last six months; and

(b) whether the intending displaced persons are experiencing any difficulties in obtaining migration certificates?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) 25,716.

(b) No reports or complaints have been received regarding any difficulty experienced by the intending migrants in obtaining migration certificates.

Shri B. K. Das: What is the procedure followed.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let there be no talks please.

Shri B. K. Das: What is the procedure followed in granting these certificates?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: People apply for migration certificates and the migration certificates are issued to them.

Shri B. K. Das: Have they got to take any certificate from the Pakistan Government for that purpose?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: No.

Shri B. K. Das: Is there any talk for relaxation of the present procedure?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: No, there is no question of relaxation.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FILM ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

***301. Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state what recommendations of the Film Enquiry Committee are to be implemented during the current year?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): A statement giving in detail action taken on

the various recommendations of the Film Enquiry Committee was laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha on 19th May 1954. At present consultations with the State Governments and the industry are being held in connection with the establishment of a National Film Board, a Film Production Bureau and a Film Institute. As soon as these are over a Bill setting out the constitution and functions of the three organisations will be introduced in the Lok Sabha.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Are there any recommendations that have been finally rejected by the Government?

Dr. Keskar: There is no question of final rejection, but one of the important recommendations of the Film Enquiry Committee regarding the establishment of a Film Council was considered by us to be not possible for the time being—something which would be too complex and difficult to start at this moment.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: What was the date of the report of the Enquiry Committee? When was the report submitted,—on what date?

Dr. Keskar: The report of the Committee?

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: Was it not three years ago that this report was submitted?

Dr. Keskar: That is quite true, but as I said, Government has already submitted to this House a statement of the action taken on the recommendations of the report, and I do not see how really the question of the original date of the submission of the report will help in answering any of the questions regarding action taken on it.

Broadcast Receiver Licences

*304. **Shri Bahadur Singh:** Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of Broadcast receiver licences at the end of August, 1954; and

(b) the steps that have been taken during 1954 to stimulate radio consciousness among the people?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) According to the latest information available from the Posts & Telegraphs Department, the total number of all types of licences in force on 31st December, 1953 was 8,37,749. It is not possible to have later figures as it takes considerable time for P. & T. to collect figures from every corner of the country.

(b) In order to make the people more radio conscious, it has been decided to observe "Radio Month" in October 1954. During this month it is proposed to launch a nation-wide drive using all media of publicity to make the people more radio minded and conscious. A copy of the press note issued in this connection is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 17.]

Shri Bahadur Singh: May I know what method was adopted to arrive at the figures given in regard to the number of broadcast receiver licences, and is it not the general complaint that these figures are inflated?

Dr. Keskar: That is not at all possible because the licences are issued by the Posts and Telegraphs Department on payment and they tabulate the figures, and I have every faith in the veracity of whatever the Posts and Telegraphs Department furnishes.

Shri Bahadur Singh: What is the cost envisaged in this nation-wide campaign?

Dr. Keskar: We feel the number of radio licences though it is increasing every year, is not sufficient. We should have more and more people buying radio sets and becoming more radio-minded.

Mr. Speaker: He wants to know the cost of the proposed campaign by Government.

Dr. Keskar: I would require notice.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether it is also under Government's contemplation to reduce the licence fee and also the penalty money with a view to make the people more radio-minded?

Dr. Keskar: There have been representations regarding the question of reducing the licence fee. Government has not come to any conclusion, but we will certainly consider any such representation.

Shri Bahadur Singh: What would be the maximum period of service during the Radio Month?

Mr. Speaker: The question is not very clear.

Shri Bahadur Singh: In the statement it is given that the transmission hours will be extended during the "Radio Month". I want to know what will be the maximum period of service.

Dr. Keskar: Every station transmits programmes for, say, about five to six hours daily, or seven hours. During this month there will be more transmission, for example, during the afternoon when generally there is no transmission. During this month especially, more transmission of programmes will take place.

LOANS FOR BANGALORE CITY

*306. **Shri Thimmaiah:** Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any representation has been made to Government by the Corporation of Bangalore for the grant of a loan for improving the Bangalore City; and

(b) if so, the action taken or proposed to be taken by Government thereon?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) An application has been received for the grant of central assistance towards the Corporation's Scheme, costing about Rs. 1 crore, for clearance of slums in the city.

(b) The details of the Scheme as also the question of the nature and extent of possible central assistance were informally discussed with the Mayor of Bangalore when he was here in Delhi on 8th June, 1954. Revised proposals in the light of those discussions when received, will be duly considered by Government.

Shri Thimmaiah: May I know whether any opinion has been expressed by the Mysore Government on this?

Sardar Swaran Singh: The original scheme had the support of the Chief Minister of Mysore.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: One question, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: It is too small a matter relating to only one Corporation as compared to the whole of India.

DEVELOPMENT OF COTTAGE INDUSTRY IN ORISSA

*308. **Shri Sanganna:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Director, Central Marketing Organisation, Madras visited Cuttack in July 1954 in order to study the scheme for the development of Handloom and Khadi industries in the State;

(b) if so, what are his recommendations in this behalf; and

(c) the nature of the assistance that has been given to the Orissa State for the development of the handloom industry?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) A statement showing the suggestions made by the Director is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 18.]

(c) A statement showing the assistance given during the years 1953-54 and 1954-55 (till August 1954) is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 18.]

Shri Sanganna: May I know whether any decision to set up regional institutes has been taken by Government?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Regional institutes not in connection with cottage industries as such, but regional institutes in connection with small-scale industries. I answered a question just a few minutes back, on Government's decision to set up four regional institutes.

Shri Sanganna: May I know whether the Central Government have issued instructions to the State Governments to liberalise the rules in respect of the giving of grants for small-scale industries?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: That is a matter which is in correspondence with the State Governments.

ONIONS AND CHILLIES

*309. **Shri Ajit Singh:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Ceylon Government have recently banned the import of onions and chillies;

(b) if so, how this has affected our export trade; and

(c) whether Government have decided not to release any quota for the export of onions and chillies with a view to bringing down the internal prices of these commodities and if so, with what effect?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) It is understood that there is no ban on the import of chillies into Ceylon. As regards onions, the Ceylon Government had banned the import from all sources with effect from the 22nd April, 1953, but from 8th October, 1953 the ban was modified and it now applies to red onions only.

(b) The ban has resulted in shrinkage of exports to Ceylon, but exporters were able to export to other destinations most of the quantity released for export during 1953.

(c) The export of onions and chillies was banned in January, 1954 in order to steady internal prices. The prices have since come down and exports have been resumed, from 22nd April, 1954, in the case of onions and from 3rd July, 1954, in the case of chillies.

Shri Ajit Singh: May I know the loss or profit per annum to the Exchequer, as a result of this decision?

Shri Karmarkar: Loss or profit?

Mr. Speaker: As a result of putting the ban and again removing it.

Shri Karmarkar: I am afraid there is neither any loss nor any profit.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: Are Government aware of the fact that the prices of onions in Nasik District have gone down so low that it has become almost impossible for the agriculturists to recover the cost of production, and that it is due to the halting policy of exports of onions by Government?

Shri Karmarkar: I am not aware of the particular conditions in the Nasik District, but so far as the country is concerned, we did want the prices of onions to come down; and if my hon. friend thinks that prices have unreasonably gone down in Nasik, they should eat a little more of it, so that the prices may go up.

Shri Bansal: Which are the countries of origin of red onions, on which a ban has been placed by the Ceylon Government?

Shri G. H. Deshpande: Is it that Government want prices.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let the previous question be answered first. The hon. Member should not put a question unless he is called upon to do so.

Shri Karmarkar: I have not studied that point particularly.

OILSEEDS ETC.

*310. **Shri Kelappan:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the reasons for the sharp fall in the export of oil and oilseeds in 1953-54 as compared to 1952-53; and

(b) the measures that have been adopted to redeem the lost trade?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) The fall in the exports of oils during 1953-54 was due to high internal prices, lack of overseas demand at these prices in some cases, and restrictions imposed by Government on exports in other cases on account of shortage of supplies in the country. In regard to oilseeds, exports of the important oilseeds are prohibited in order to promote exports of oils wherever possible.

(b) The export duties on linseed oil, rape and mustard oils, cottonseed oil, kardi and niger-seed oils have accordingly been abolished with effect from the 12th May 1954. From the same date, the export duty on castor oil has been reduced from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 200/- per ton.

Shri Kelappan: What about the duty on castor oil?

Shri Karmarkar: I said that it was reduced from Rs. 300 to Rs. 200 per ton, from 12th May 1954.

Dr. Rama Rao: In the list of oils on which export duty has been reduced or abolished, the hon. Minister has not included groundnut oil. May I know whether Government are aware that there is a large exportable surplus in places like Andhra and Telengana, but the export permit is quite inadequate?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): The permit that has been given, i.e., fifteen per cent. of the quota for established exporters has not been taken up in full.

Shri Ramachandra Reddi: May I know whether there has been a considerable appreciation in the exports, after the reduction of these export duties?

Shri Karmarkar: It is yet too early to assess the result of the reduction.

TARIFF COMMISSION'S REPORT ON TYRES AND TUBES

*311. **Shri Bansal:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the enquiry conducted by the Tariff Commission into the prices of tyres and tubes has since been completed; and

(b) if so, whether the Tariff Commission have submitted their Report?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) and (b). The Tariff Commission enquiry into the prices charged by the tyre companies has not yet been concluded.

Shri Bansal: May I know when the case of this industry was referred to the Tariff Commission?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I think some time early last year.

Shri Bansal: Are there any similar cases in which the Tariff Commission have taken such a long time in submitting their reports to Government? If so, are Government satisfied with the working of the Tariff Commission?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Government have no reason to be dissatisfied with the work of the Tariff Commission?

LOAN TO TATA IRON AND STEEL CO.

*313. **Shri Bogawat:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether an interest-free loan of rupees ten crores has been given

by Government to Tata Iron and Steel Company for modernisation and expansion of their works;

(b) if so, the names of the works to be expanded; and

(c) the reasons for not charging interest on such a large loan?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Government have agreed to give a loan of Rs. 10 crores to the Tata Iron & Steel Company which will be free of interest till 1st July, 1958, or such later date as may be mutually agreed upon, to enable the Company to complete their expansion and modernisation programme the total estimated cost of which is expected to be about Rs. 43 crores.

(b) A statement is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 19.]

(c) The intention is not to charge interest for the period of construction with a view to help in the expansion and modernisation of the plant.

Shri Bogawat: May I know the various advantages the country would gain on account of not charging the interest?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: The question of not charging the interest has a long history behind it. I would like to say that when we took up this matter with the Tata Iron and Steel Company in regard to modernisation of their plant, the proposal was put forward by them that their reasons were not adequate for them to embark upon a modernisation scheme; and if they did not do so their production of 7,50,000 tons would drop below this figure. We should increase the retention price paid to them so as to give them a cushion which they will use for purposes of funding and utilisation in the modernisation of the plant. Government examined this proposal and found that it would not be appropriate to raise the consumer price, and give the difference *gratis* to the company. Government, therefore, decided on a scheme of raising the selling price, and pumping in the difference between the retention price and the selling price into the equalisation fund. The amounts that accrue in the equalisation fund were intended to be used for purposes of helping the industry to develop. It is but natural that when any scheme of expansion or modernisation or even construction is undertaken, the moneys that are ploughed in do not earn any interest or any return during the course of construction and therefore, Government felt that if they would encourage these people to go in for expansion, it would result not merely in their keeping up their production level, but also in augmenting their production to the extent of 1,81,000 tons, and so Government should give a help to this industry, by means of an interest-free loan to the extent of 10 crores.

Shri Joachim Alva: Did Government take an overall picture of the situation, especially in view of the managing agents' capacity to take from Volkarts fifty-one per cent. of their shares, and also to float another concern by which they would run German tanks and German automobiles?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Government do take an overall picture of the situation, and I might assure my hon. friend that Government are quite competent to do so.

Shri Matthen: How does the retention price of steel in India compare with the price of foreign steel of similar quality imported into India?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Even at the moment, we have a price advantage. Even at present, the selling price, as I said earlier, affords a cushion from out of which we are pumping in money to the equalisation fund. We have a definite price advantage.

Shri Matthen: I wanted to know the rate.

Shri Meghnad Saha: May I know whether Government have insisted it as a condition of giving the loan, that

some of their representatives will be taken on the board of management or the board of directors?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Yes, we have a government director on the board, or we should soon have.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether the company has given any indication of the time by which the construction work is likely to be completed, and after which date Government will start charging interest?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Normally it is understood that the modernisation programme would have been completed before the middle of 1958.

Shri Sadhan Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether the Government expect the modernisation programme to result in economy, and if so, what is the reason for not tapping some of the economy which will result by way of interest?

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I could not catch the question.

Mr. Speaker: The proposal seems to be that if there is any possibility of economy, why not utilise the results of the economy for charging interest instead of limiting the period for interest.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I am afraid it is far too complicated for my understanding.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

MYSORE GOVERNMENT HOUSING SCHEME

*314. **Shri Shivananjappa:** Will the Minister of **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Government of Mysore have submitted a Housing Scheme for the construction of about 2500 houses in the urban areas of the State for housing the low income Government and Municipal employees, for the consideration of the Central Government;

(b) if so, the salient features of the scheme; and

(c) the estimated cost of implementing it?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) A statement indicating briefly the salient features of the scheme is placed on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 20.]

(c) Rs. 1 crore approximately.

Shri Shivananjappa: May I know what action has been taken by the Centre to implement this scheme?

Sardar Swaran Singh: It has not yet been sanctioned; so the question of implementation does not arise.

Shri Shivananjappa: May I know to what extent, and in what form, the Centre will finance the scheme?

Sardar Swaran Singh: The assistance that has been asked for is in the form of a loan repayable at the end of 25 years. This is the salient feature of the scheme. The Central Government are likely to finance it by advancing a loan, though it may not be to the full extent.

ART SILK WEAVING INDUSTRY

*316. **Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the virtual collapse of the art silk weaving industry in the country; and

(b) whether Government are taking any steps to assist it?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Government are not aware of any serious set-back to the Art Silk Weaving Industry in the country at present.

(b) Does not arise.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know if any representation has not been received from the manufacturers at

Amritsar with regard to the fact that they are in trouble?

Shri Karmarkar: I cannot recall any such complaint made.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know if representations have not been received from the manufacturers at Surat that there is a collapse of this industry?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): The question of difficulties that the Art Silk Industry faces is inextricably connected with the levy of excise duty that was sanctioned by this House during the Budget Session. The House is well aware that the excise duty was reduced considerably when the Finance Bill was finally passed. There were a lot of representations during that time and there were also threats of closure, but after that period I have received no complaint of any serious disability that the industry is suffering from. It is true that while imports are being regulated so as to fit in with the absorption of locally-made Art Silk yarn, there is always some complaint that the imports are not adequate. But Government strive their best to see that the claims of all concerned are satisfied, and we take very quick action when we find that there is any shortage in production or shortage in supplies. But barring this, I have not received any major complaint.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know what is the total value (in rupees) of the products of this Art Silk Industry in India?

Shri Karmarkar: During 1954 (January to June) the total production has been to the tune of 89·36 million yards as against 177·56 million yards and 108·8 million yards for the previous two years. The production has been fairly good.

Shri D. C. Sharma: How many workers are concerned in this industry?

Shri Karmarkar: I require notice.

URANIUM DEPOSITS

*318. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether geologists have examined the crusts of white stone quarry near Chota Udaipur (Baroda); and

(b) whether the preliminary examination has disclosed the presence of Uranium in these crusts?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Some minor indications of uranium and thorium ores have been found in certain rock formations of the Chota Udaipur area.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know whether these have been examined in our national laboratories and it has been ascertained whether these can be exploited for some purpose?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Defence (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Anything that is found in this way is carefully examined invariably. If it has not been examined, we will not be able to say that it has been found. As to what use it should be put, it is, first of all, a question of the quantity of ores available. The mere fact of finding ores is not enough. It is well known as to what use uranium and thorium ores can be put.

Sardar Hukam Singh: May I know that whether any steps are being taken in the laboratories or elsewhere to find out actually, first of all what quantities are there, and whether they can be utilised?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: The uranium and thorium contents of the Chota Udaipur occurrences are not likely to

be high. The future prospects of uranium are problematical and investigations are being continued by the Raw Materials Division of the Department of Atomic Energy.

CORRUPTION CASES

*319. **Shri Dabhi:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 1176, asked on the 22nd March, 1954 and state:

(a) the final action taken in respect of the 758 cases of corruption detected during the years 1950 to 1953; and

(b) the number of Gazetted Officers against whom such action was taken?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) and (b). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 21]

Shri Dabhi: In the statement details are given of the number of cases of departmental irregularities such as receiving illegal gratification etc. in which disciplinary action was taken. May I know whether Government consider that receiving illegal gratification is merely a departmental irregularity, and why criminal action was not taken?

Shri Karmarkar: A particular act may invite both departmental action as well as criminal prosecution. Whether criminal action is taken or not depends upon the sustainability of the action. Certainly, in some cases criminal action also has been taken. I have not got the figures with me, but it is a fact that action has been taken in criminal courts and some other matters are pending investigation.

Shri Dabhi: Again, in the statement there is another column about the number of cases in which investigations were completed and final blacklisting action was taken. May I know what is meant by 'blacklisting action'?

Shri Karmarkar: 'Blacklisting' is putting in the black list, that is to say, a man is not given any import or export licence etc; it applies to people who seek to obtain licences from us.

Shri Dabhi: May I know the names and/or designation of the 8 Gazetted officers against whom action was taken, and also what action was taken?

Shri Karmarkar: (1) Shri C. R. Mankikar, Asstt. Controller of Imports and Exports—Case pending in court.

(2) Shri B. M Sapre, Assistant Controller of Imports and Exports—Case pending in court.

(3) Shri J. N. Mukerji, Controller of Imports and Exports—Reverted to Customs Department and discharged.

(4) Shri P. K. Dutta, Examining Officer—Reverted to Customs.

(5) Shri V. D. Jhingen, Assistant Director, Enforcement—Dismissed from service.

(6) Shri M. M. Lal, Assistant Controller of Imports and Exports—Removed from service.

(7) Shri T. R. Verma, Assistant Controller of Imports and Exports—Suspended from service. (A reference to U.P.S.C. has been made for determining the quantum of punishment)

(8) Shri S. A. Venkataraman, Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry—Dismissed from service.

Diwan Raghavendra Rao: May I know if Government are contemplating a change in the Public Services Commission Rules giving them more powers to exercise control over the officers with a view to check corruption?

Shri Karmarkar: The question may be addressed to the Home Ministry in due course.

CENTRAL TRAINING INSTITUTE, RANCHI

*320. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) whether a Central Training Institute has been established at Ranchi for training officers for development work;

(b) if so, how many officers are undergoing training there; and

(c) the States to which they belong?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) A centre has been established at Ranchi for the training of Block Development Officers.

(b) 34.

(c) Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Vindhya Pradesh, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and N.E.F.A.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

BHAKRA NANGAL DAM

*288. **Shri S. C. Singhal:** Will the Minister of **Irrigation and Power** be pleased to state:

(a) the result of the recent trial experiments carried out at the Bhakra-Nangal Dams;

(b) by what time the regular supply of water to the fields will commence and what will be the irrigation rates; and

(c) when will electric power be ready for supply and what will be its rates?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Except for a slight damage to the Syphon on the Gagar Crossing of the Bhakra Main Canal, all the trials recently carried out proved satisfactory.

(b) (i) Supply commenced from the 8th July, 1954;

(ii) The water rates per acre matured of culturable commanded area are:

(a) Perennial—Rs. 6-0-0.

(b) Non-Perennial—Rs. 3-12-0.

(c) Restricted perennial—Rs. 6-0-0.

(c) (i) By the end of September, 1954.

(ii) A statement giving the rates for the different types of load is laid on the Table of the Sabha. [Placed in the Library. *See* No. S-274/54.]

STATE INDUSTRIES

*302. **Shri Lakshmidhar Jena:** Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have considered the necessity of starting state industries on a regional basis to enable different regions of India to get the benefits of technical training and employment;

(b) if so, the conclusions arrived at; and

(c) whether they have accepted the principle of regionalisation?

The Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power (Shri Nanda): (a) to (c). The desirability of starting State Industries on a regional basis so far as raw materials, transport and other factors permit, is borne in mind in examining specific projects. This aspect will be kept in view especially in formulating the Second Five Year Plan.

AID TO SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES

*305. **Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have given assistance to all the States under the State Aid to Industries Act:

(b) whether the State Governments have made provision for financial and other assistance to the small-scale industries in their current budgets;

(c) whether any progress has been achieved in the sector of small-scale industries since this assistance has been granted; and

(d) whether Government contemplate to take any other steps to encourage the development of small-scale industries?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Hitherto, the Central Government have given assistance only to Part C States under the State Aid to Industries (Centrally Administered Areas) Model Rules, 1949. In most Part A and B States, arrangements exist for providing financial and other assistance to cottage and small-scale industries under various State Aid to Industries Acts or non-statutory Rules by the State Governments themselves.

(b) It is understood that most of the State Governments have made provision for financial and other assistance to the small-scale industries in their current year's budgets.

(c) and (d). Yes, Sir.

TANNING INDUSTRY IN TRIPURA

*307. **Shri Dasaratha Deb:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government contemplate to start tanning industry in Tripura;

(b) if so, what are its prospects in Tripura; and

(c) the estimated amount that would be spent on this industry in Tripura?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) to (c). The Government of Tripura have a scheme for imparting training in Tanning and they expect the individuals so trained to develop the Tanning Industry, individually or on a co-operative basis.

DISPLACED PERSONS IN MANIPUR

*315. **Shri Rishang Keishing:** Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that a large number of displaced persons from East Pakistan have recently arrived in Manipur;

(b) if so, their total number;

(c) the measures that Government have taken for their rehabilitation; and

(d) the number of skilled workmen among them?

The Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri J. K. Bhonsle): (a) to (d). The required information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the Sabha in due course.

DIESEL ENGINES

*317. **Shri A. K. Gopalan:**
Shri V. P. Nayar:

Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the reasons for the very low percentage of production of the installed capacity in diesel engines; and

(b) how many diesel engines have been bought by the Central Government during the year 1953-54 and how many of these are manufactured in India?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) The low production of diesel engines in the past was due to poor off-take of indigenous engines. The position has since changed considerably and indigenous production is gradually going up.

(b) 299 engines were purchased during 1953-54, of these 207 were indigenous.

STANDARDS FOR BICYCLE COMPONENTS

*321. **Shri K. P. Sinha:**
Shri Nanadas:

Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the comments of experts on the proposed standards for bicycle components have been received;

(b) if so, how many of these comments are from this country and how many of them have come from abroad; and

(c) whether they have been finalised?

The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) 121 comments have been received from parties in India and 71 from parties abroad.

(c) Not yet, Sir.

CONFECTIONERY MANUFACTURING PLANT

*322. **Shri Jethalal Joshi:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that a foreign firm has been granted permission to start a confectionery manufacturing plant in the country; and

(b) if so, what is the investment of the firm?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) and (b). Permission has not been given for any foreign firm to start a confectionery industry in this country during this year.

ANTI-INDIAN PROPAGANDA

*323. **Shri Krishnacharya Joshi:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware of false stories of conversions of Indian Muslims and desecration of Mosques in India that are being spread in Pakistan and in the Middle East by Pakistan propagandists; and

(b) what steps Government have taken to counteract this false propaganda?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes.

(b) The High Commissioner for India in Karachi has been instructed to lodge a strong protest with the Government of Pakistan about this. Factual material was issued on the 15th June and 26th July to clarify the position and counteract this propaganda. This material was also sent to all our Missions abroad. The press in the Middle East Countries have not taken any notice of this campaign by Pakistan.

N.A.T.O.

*324. **Shri S. N. Das:** Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have sent any note to the U.K. Government and other participating countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to express their opinions about the stand that the Prime Minister of Portugal has taken about the Anglo-Portuguese alliance and the Atlantic Pact *vis-a-vis* the transfer of the Portuguese territory of Goa to the Indian Union; and

(b) if so, whether any reply has been received to that note from any country?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shri Anil K. Chanda): (a) and (b). The Government of India sent notes to the U.K. and U.S.A. seeking clarification regarding the interpretations of the provisions of the N.A.T.O treaty in regard to the Portuguese Possessions in India. Replies from these Governments have been received and are under study.

RESEARCH ON NATIONAL PLANNING

*325. **Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) whether a programme of co-ordinated investigation and research

on problems of national planning and development has been initiated by the Planning Commission;

(b) whether the Research Programmes Committee have submitted any report so far;

(c) if so, their main recommendations; and

(d) if not, when they are expected to submit their report?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) to (d). Reports will be submitted to the Planning Commission by the persons and/or organisations-in-charge of the investigations on their completion. The duration of the investigation varies from 1 year to 4 years. Interim progress reports are just being received quarterly.

Co-operative Societies of Handloom Weavers

*326. **Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Reserve Bank has agreed to afford financial assistance to co-operative societies of handloom weavers for the development of their schemes approved by Government; and

(b) whether any co-operative societies of handloom weavers have been formed so far which can get financial help from the Reserve Bank?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) and (b). The Reserve Bank is extending financial assistance to Co-operative Societies for the purchase and sale of yarn only for the present. Even this financial assistance has so far been given to the Apex Co-operative Societies in Madras, Andhra and Mysore only.

Migration of Agriculturists from Pakistan

*327. **Shri Ajit Singh:** Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of agriculturists and farmers who have migrated to India from Pakistan; and

(b) the number of those who have been provided land by Government?

The Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri J. K. Bhonsle): (a) According to the 1951 Census, the total number of agriculturists and farmers, who have migrated to India from Pakistan is 2,064,491. The figure regarding those, who came after 1951 census, is not available.

(b) About 7 lakhs families.

All-India Handicrafts Board

*328. **Sardar Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the All-India Handicrafts Board has made the survey of the handicraft centres in the country with a view to popularising Indian handicrafts in the foreign markets;

(b) whether the Board has made any concrete proposals to the Government for this purpose; and

(c) if so, what are these proposals?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) The survey is still in progress.

(b) Yes.

(c) (i) Holding of exhibitions in foreign countries;

(ii) holding of an exhibition in India for foreign buyers; and

(iii) establishment of an Export Promotion Association.

Transfer of Pensions

*329. **Shri Krishnacharya Joshi:** Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Governments of Pakistan and India have come to any

agreement on the question of the transfer of pensions between East and West Bengal; and

(b) whether Government are paying pensions under the Scheme of Provisional Payment of Pensions to the displaced pensioners from East Bengal?

The Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri J. K. Bhonsle): (a) In the discussions held at Karachi during July-August, 1953, it was agreed in principle that facilities for the transfer of pensions between the two Bengals which existed upto the 31st December, 1949, should be restored in respect of pensioners of undivided Bengal. The questions of details such as the date upto which transfers should be permitted and other consequential matters had to be settled between the Governments of East & West Bengal. Although the matter came up for discussion in two subsequent Conferences between the East and West Bengal Governments, no agreement could be arrived at.

(b) Yes, the Governments of West Bengal and Assam are making provisional payment of pensions to displaced pensioners of undivided Bengal who have migrated from East Bengal and settled in those States before the 15th October 1952. Similarly in the case of Central Government employees, provisional payment is being made by the Central Claims Organisation.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

***330. Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** Will the Minister of **Planning** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Planning Commission have entrusted Universities of the various States with the task of making Socio-economic Survey of the big cities in their respective States;

(b) if so, the amount sanctioned for conducting this Survey; and

(c) whether any of the States have submitted any report so far?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The grants sanctioned so far amount to Rs. 17·58 lakhs.

(c) Investigations are not yet complete but quarterly progress reports have been received.

WORK-CHARGED STAFF OF C.P.W.D.

***331. Shri A. K. Gopalan:** Will the Minister for **Works, Housing and Supply** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 1740 asked on the 12th April, 1954 and state:

(a) whether the review of the Special Pay granted to Government employees at Bagdogra and Silliguri has since been carried out;

(b) if so, what decision has Government taken thereon;

(c) whether the Special Pay is granted to all staff employed in other Government Departments whether recruited from outside or locally; and

(d) if so, the reasons for not applying the same rule to the work-charged staff of the Central Public Works Department also?

The Minister of Works, Housing and Supply (Sardar Swaran Singh): (a) to (d). The review of this question has not yet been completed. It involves an examination not only of the point whether such special pays are being given to employees of some other departments but also of the issue whether the work-charged staff should necessarily be treated as identical with regular Government establishments. This partly accounts for the delay in the completion of the review.

FERTILIZER PLANTS

***332. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to set up some more fertilizer plants in the country;

(b) if so, their number and the names of the places where they will be set up; and

(c) when the new plants are likely to be set up?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): (a) to (c). Proposals relating to the extent of expansion required of the capacity for fertilizer production in the country, the means to be adopted for achieving this and as to when and where new units can be established are now under the examination of the Government.

YARN

129. Shri V. P. Nayar: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that during the first half of 1954, the prices of indigenously manufactured yarn registered an increase and if so, what is the percentage of the increase as compared to the prices prevailing in the corresponding period in 1953; and

(b) what were the average number of spindles used, the quantity of yarn produced and the number of workers employed during the first half of 1953 and of 1954 respectively?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Prices of yarn fluctuate according to market conditions. There was a rise during some months ranging from 3 to 9 per cent. in prices of yarn of counts other than 60s.

(b) Information is given below:

Particulars	Jan./June. 1953	Jan./June 1954
1. Average number of spindles worked:		
(a) First shift	9,818,000	10,018,000
(b) Second shift	8,900,000	9,249,000
(c) Third shift	3,097,000	3,207,000
2. Yarn production (monthly average)	122·6 million lbs.	126·4 million lbs.
3. Average number of workers actually employed.		
(a) First shift	425,527	414,271
(b) Second shift	263,220	255,632
(c) Third shift	62,290	64,323

336 L.S.D.

COTTON

130. Shri V. P. Nayar: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state the estimated total prices paid by Indian yarn mills for the purchase of (i) indigenous cotton and (ii) imported cotton during the years 1951, 1952, 1953 and the first half of 1954?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): The information asked for is not available.

PROCESSED CASHEW KERNELS

131. Shri V. P. Nayar: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the quantity of processed cashew kernels consumed in India in 1953-54; and

(b) whether Government have any plans to increase the home consumption of this commodity and if so, what?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) According to the trade about 2,000 to 3,000 tons of cashew nuts are consumed in the country. Precise estimates are not possible.

(b) None at present.

बेकारी

१३२. श्री मगन लाल बागड़ी : क्या **योजना** मंत्री बेकारी के बारे में १८ नवम्बर, १९५३ को पूछे गए तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या ७८ के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) मध्य प्रदेश सरकार से योजना आयोग के पत्र का क्या उत्तर प्राप्त हुआ;

(ख) क्या मध्य प्रदेश सरकार इस काम की प्रगति के बारे में कोई नियतकालिक प्रतिवेदन भेजती है; और

(ग) यदि हां, तो क्या उसकी प्रतियां मिल सकती हैं ?

The Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power (Shri Nanda): (a) The reply of the Government of Madhya Pradesh received on 9th September, 1953 states that there has been a definite deterioration in the employment situation mainly due to the following factors:

(1) decline in industrial employment in the private sector,

(2) fall in the purchasing power of consumers,

(3) growth of population and steady shift to urban areas,

(4) increase in the number of educated persons seeking white colar employment,

(5) abolition of controls,

(6) seasonal and temporary factors like water scarcity affecting the orange industry and shortages of building materials like cement and steel hampering the building industry,

(7) pressure of competition from mill-made cloth resulting in a fall in the demand for handloom products with a consequent effect on employment.

Of the measures suggested by the Planning Commission in the 11 point programme for relieving unemployment, the State Government considered that proposals for additional power schemes can be undertaken immediately. Measures for the acceleration of the National Extension Service programme and development of private road transport are being implemented. Other recommendations would need further consideration.

(b) No periodical appreciation of the employment position has been received from the State Government so far.

(c) Does not arise.

WOOL (LICENCES FOR EXPORT)

133. Shri Magan Lal Bagdi: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of firms who have been given licences to export wool;

(b) the quantity (in lbs.) allotted to these firms stating the period, for which the quotas have been allotted; and

(c) the total quota allocated to firms under category (c), i.e. Internal Traders who have not actually exported any quantity in the past?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) About 450. —

(b) A total of 29 million lbs. of raw wool was released for export at different stages for shipment from November 1953 to the end of September, 1954.

(c) About 1½ million lbs.

COMPENSATION TO DISPLACED PERSONS IN RAJASTHAN

134. Shri Karni Singhji: Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of displaced persons who have been paid compensation in Rajasthan upto 31st July, 1954; and

(b) the total amount of compensation paid upto that date?

The Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri J. K. Bhonsle): (a) and (b). 530 claimants have been paid Rs. 18,32,746. In addition an area of 1,11,080 acres has been allotted to 5,903 claimants having verified claims for agricultural lands.

FINANCIAL AID TO DISPLACED STUDENTS

135. Shri Karni Singhji: Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any financial aid was given to displaced students in Rajasthan;

(b) if so, the amount allotted during each of the years from 1949-50 to 1952-53;

(c) the total amount spent on the rehabilitation of displaced persons from April 1948 to March 1953 in Rajasthan; and

(d) the amount spent on scheduled caste displaced persons in Rajasthan?

The Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri J. K. Bhonsle): (a) Yes.

(b) 1949-50—Nil
1950-51—Rs. 4·00 lakhs.
1951-52—Rs. 4·00 lakhs.
1952-53—Rs. 4·00 lakhs.

(c) Rs. 4·00 crores approximately.

(d) No separate statistics are kept.

SOVIET EXPERTS

136. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state whether Government propose to enter into an agreement with the Government of the U.S.S.R. for getting Soviet experts for technical advice?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): There is no specific agreement with the Government of U.S.S.R. for getting experts for technical advice. There is, however, a proposal to obtain from that country two steel casting experts for six months under an agreement.

INDIA-NEPAL LINK ROAD

137. Shri G. P. Sinha: Will the **Prime Minister** be pleased to state what amount has been spent by the Government of India for the construction of the India-Nepal link road?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): An expenditure of Rs. 108·79 lakhs was incurred up to the end of May, 1954.

EXPORT AND IMPORT TRADE

138. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state the position of India's export and import trade with—

(i) the dollar area countries, and

(ii) the sterling area countries in the year 1953-54?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): A statement is attached [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 22]

रेडियो स्टेशन

१३९. सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या **सूचना तथा प्रसारण** मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि १९५४ में किन-किन स्थानों पर नए रेडियो स्टेशन खोले गए हैं या खोलने का विचार है ?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): No new station has been opened so far during the calendar year 1954. It is proposed to complete the installation and open new stations at Indore, Jaipur and Rajkot during the year 1954-55. The station at Mysore is proposed to be transferred to Bangalore during the course of the year.

केन्द्रीय कुटीर उद्योग एम्पोरियम

१४०. सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या **वाणिज्य तथा उद्योग** मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) नई दिल्ली के केन्द्रीय कुटीर उद्योग एम्पोरियम में १९५३-५४ में कुल कितने मूल्य की वस्तुएं बेची गईं; और

(ख) इसे चलाने में इसके कर्मचारियों के वेतन सहित कुल कितना खर्च हुआ ?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) Rs. 10·25 lakhs.

(b) Rs. 1·14 lakhs.

पासपोर्ट

१४१. सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या **प्रधान मंत्री** यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) १९५३-५४ में कितने भारतीयों को (१) अमरीका, (२) इंग्लैण्ड, (३) चीन, (४) जापान और (५) रूस जाने के लिये पासपोर्ट दिए गए; और

(ख) इस काल में इन देशों से कितने व्यक्ति भारत आए ?

The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) No country-wise record is kept of applications for passports. Passports are issued for general travel abroad and endorsements generally cover more than one country. It is not, therefore, possible to furnish the desired information.

(b) The number of visas for India granted by our Missions in the countries named are as follows:—

Name of the Country	No. of foreigners.
America	4776
England	260
China	69
Japan	1139
Russia	67

The persons covered by these visas are not necessarily nationals of that particular country. They may be nationals of any country, who happen to be there at that particular time and who therefore apply to that Mission because it is the nearest. Information regarding the exact nationality of all these persons is not readily available, but as far as is known the figures given above, particularly in respect of America and Japan, cover a large number of tourists.

POSTAL RELIEF SCHEME

142. Shri Krishnacharya Joshi: Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state the total amount paid so far by Government as allowance to the displaced persons from West Pakistan under the Postal Relief Scheme?

The Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri J. K. Bhonsle): Rs. 1,24,876 upto 31st July, 1954.

JUTE MILLS

143. Shri Tushar Chatterjea: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state the number of British Nationals employed at present in the various Jute Mills in India?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): It is understood that 611 British nationals were employed in various Jute Mills in India on 1st January 1954.

IRON RODS

144. Pandit D. N. Tiwary: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is a shortage of iron rods in the country;

(b) the total production of iron rods in 1953-54 by (i) the main producers and (ii) secondary producers and re-rollers; and

(c) the quantity of import, if any, from hard and soft currency areas?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) The indigenous production is, according to Government's information, able to meet the present internal demand of the country.

(b) (i) 6793 tons. (ii) 78,464 tons.

(c) 6,000 tons in 1953 from soft currency areas only.

CINEMATOGRAPH ACT, 1952

145. Shri K. C. Sodhia: Will the Minister of **Information and Broadcasting** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of cases in which penalties under Section 7 of the Cinematograph Act, 1952 were imposed during 1953-54;

(b) the authority which imposed these penalties; and

(c) in how many cases additional fines for continued offence were imposed?

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar): (a) to (c). Information is being collected from the State Governments and will be laid on the Table.

LAND DISPUTES

146. Shri Dasaratha Deb: Will the Minister of **Rehabilitation** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of cases of land disputes between the local peasantry and

the displaced persons due to the requisition of land by Government in Tripura, pending since 1949;

(b) the number of representations received from the affected people of Tripura so far;

(c) the number of disputes that have been settled so far; and

(d) whether it is a fact that land was taken away by requisition from such Tribal peasants who have only three to four *kanis* of land in possession for their subsistence?

The Deputy Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri J. K. Bhonsle): (a) 13.

(b) 64.

(c) 51.

(d) No.

गंगोवाल बिजली घर

१४७. **डा० सत्यवादी :** क्या सिंचाई तथा विद्युत मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या नंगल परियोजना का गंगोवाल बिजली घर चालू हो गया है;

(ख) यदि हां, तो उसमें इस समय कितनी बिजली तैयार की जा रही है;

(ग) वहां से बिजली किन-किन इलाकों को दी जा रही है;

(घ) बिजली घर नम्बर २ के काम में कितनी प्रगति हुई है;

(ङ) क्या यह सच है कि सरकार ने भाखड़ा बिजली घर की योजना अभी स्वीकार नहीं की है; और

(च) यदि हां, तो इसके क्या कारण है ?

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): (a) No.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

(d) The work on the substructure of the Power House and on the outdoor switchgear erection is in progress. The concreting of the embedded parts of the turbine will be taken in hand very shortly.

(e) Yes.

(f) The technical Committee appointed by the Planning Commission recommended that no administrative decision regarding the installation of power plant at Bhakra should be taken till 1957 for the reason that unduly large generating capacity should not be provided very much ahead of load requirements. The matter is, however, under the examination of Government.

Fertilizers

148. Shri Gadilingana Gowd: Will the Minister of **Production** be pleased to state the quantity of fertilizer allotted to the Andhra State for the year 1954-55?

The Minister of Production (Shri K. C. Reddy): Allotments of fertilizer are made on the basis of the calendar year. 65,000 tons have been allotted to the Andhra State for 1954.

Insulator Factory

149. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any insulator Factory exists in India;

(b) if so, the name of the place where that factory is located; and

(c) the annual production of that factory?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) and (b). Yes, Sir. There are seven factories manufacturing Electrical Porcelain Insulators. Five units are located at Calcutta, one at Bangalore and another at Bombay.

(c) Total production during 1953 at these factories has been of the order of 30 lakh pieces.

COTTON (IMPORT)

150. Shri K. G. Deshmukh: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the total import of cotton from the 1st January, 1954 to the 1st August, 1954; and

(b) the names of the countries from which the imports were made?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) A statement is attached. [*See* Appendix III, annexure No. 23]

(b) Kenya, Tanganyika, Sudan, Egypt, U.S.A. and other countries.

GROUNDNUT AND GROUNDNUT OIL

151. Dr. Rama Rao: Will the Minister of **Commerce and Industry** be pleased to state:

(a) the total estimated consumption and requirements of groundnut and groundnut oil in the country;

(b) the total exportable surplus of these commodities available in the country with particular reference to Andhra; and

(c) the total quantity permitted to be exported?

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): (a) and (b). It is difficult to give any precise estimates but consumption is known to be on the increase, and there was hardly any carry over from the previous year's crop.

(c) During the current year, about 8,500 tons of hand-picked-selected groundnuts, have been allowed for export. Export of groundnut oil has been allowed on the basis of a 15 per cent. quota to established exporters with a ceiling of 400 tons of any single exporter—No quantity has been fixed.

LOK SABHA

DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

VOLUME VI, 1954

(23rd August to 11th September, 1954)

Seventh Session

1954

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT

NEW DELHI

LOK SABHA

Tuesday, 31st August, 1954

The Lok Sabha met at a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(*See Part I*)

9-15 A.M.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER INSURANCE ACT, 1938

The Deputy Minister of Finance (Shri A. C. Guha): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following notifications, under sub-section (2) of section 2C of the Insurance Act, 1938:

(i) Ministry of Finance Notification No. 658-I(2)/44, dated the 27th May, 1954; [*Placed in Library. See* No. S. 271/54.] and

(ii) Ministry of Finance Notification No. 666-I(1)/46, dated the 27th May, 1954. [*Placed in Library. See* No. S-272/54.]

MESSAGE FROM THE RAJYA SABHA

Secretary: Sir, I have to report the following message received from the Secretary of the Rajya Sabha:

"I am directed to inform the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha, at its sitting held on the 30th August, 1954, has passed the following motion extending the time for presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, 1952:

Motion

'That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to amend and codify the law relating to marriage and divorce among Hindus be extended up to Friday, the 24th September, 1954'."

UNTOUCHABILITY (OFFENCES) BILL.—*Contd.*

Mr. Speaker: We will now proceed with the further consideration of the motion moved by Dr. Kailas Nath Katju on the 26th August, 1954, for reference of the Untouchability (Offences) Bill to a Joint Committee. Amendments tabled will also be considered along with this motion.

Shri Laskar will continue his speech.

Shri Laskar (Cachar-Lushai Hills—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Sir, I was yesterday referring to the report of the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1953. Mr. Srikant, the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is the right man in the right place and he really feels, understands and realises the conditions and problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He has narrated in his report the actual states of things prevailing all over the country. He has given many instances also.

[Shri Laskar]

In section IV of the report, he elaborately deals with social disabilities where he has stated,—

> "Information collected from the State Governments shows that there has been no appreciable improvement with regard to untouchability."

He has referred to an interesting case in New Delhi also. The Scheduled Caste pepole while taking water from the compound of the New Delhi City Magistrate, which is just a few furlongs off from this Parliament House, were abused and harassed by a constable and a clerk and these unfortunate people were made to pay the price of the utensils which were supposed to be polluted by their touch. If that be the condition in the heart of the capital, you can easily imagine what are the conditions now prevailing in the far distant villages.

In his address to the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference a few days back in New Delhi, speaking about Harijans, our Prime Minister said:

> "The abolition of untouchability has been enshrined in the Constitution, but the fact remains that in most of the villages this vicious sentiment prevails. Even in regard to drinking of water from wells, they have to suffer hardship. This is an evil thing, a thing one has to fight tooth and nail."

Regarding untouchability, so far as I understand, there may be some slight improvement in the towns, but in the villages the thing exists today as it was a thousand years ago. As regards intensity, there may be some difference in degree in various places. But, untouchability is practised—either in a bad form in one place or in a worse or the worst form in other places—all over India. Along with it the spirit of hatred and suppression is prevalent in certain sections of the high caste people.

As I come from the State of Assam and belong to the Scheduled castes, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not draw the attention of the House to the conditions now prevailing in my State with regard to untouchability. It has been stated in the second report of Mr. Srikant that untouchability does not exist in the State of Assam. He might have been misinformed. I can say that this is not at all correct. The *Muchis* and *Mehtars* belong to the scheduled castes and I can challenge any one who says that *Muchis* and *Mehtars* are not untouchables. All the Scheduled Castes in Assam are untouchables. Not only this. The people of some of the backward communities are also untouchables, such as the Naths, Manipuris and the Mahishyadas etc.

Let me cite an example. The Assam Pradeshik Nath Sammilani submitted a memorandum to the Backward Classes Commission a few months back in which it is stated:

> "The community has a total strength of about four lakhs of people. The priests of the advanced community do not do any of their religious functions such as marriage, *shradha* ceremonies etc. Advanced communities do not take even water and other edible articles given by the people of the *Nath* community. They are not allowed to enjoy the privileges and rights in the religious places like temples and village *Namghars*."

Surely, they are untouchables. The status of the backward community in the Hindu society is better than that of the Scheduled Castes and if that be the condition of the backward community in the State of Assam, then you can easily imagine what are the real conditions of the scheduled castes in Assam State.

A sum of Rs. 50,000 has been allotted by the Central Government for the Assam State for the removal of untouchability for the year 1953-54. If

untouchability does not exist then where is the necessity for granting this amount to that State? Does it not show that Mr. Srikant, Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, did not give any importance to the fact stated in the second report, because he sometimes failed to get correct reports even from many State Governments?

According to the definition of 'untouchables', the present Bill will cover not only the scheduled castes but also the non-Hindu untouchables like the Christians, Muslims and Tribals etc. I would like to give the population figures of untouchables in my State. The total population of the Assam State was about 90,43,707. There are certain communities who are untouchables according to the definition, such as—Muslims, Christians and Tribals, but they do not care for untouchability. As for an instance—in Assam the total strength of Muslims—19,96,000, Tribals—17,35,000 are untouchables but do not care for untouchability.

The Christian population is 5,85,399 and some of the Tribals are Christians. Among the Hindu community, garden labourers, those who have been recruited from different States and who have been considered there as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, are included in the backward class list in Assam. Their population is about 11 lakhs and they are untouchables. The Scheduled Caste population is 4,24,000 and other untouchable backward communities have the population of 7 lakhs. Therefore, about 59 lakhs of pepole are untouchables in the State of Assam; that is, nearly 65 per cent. of the total population are untouchables of which about 22 lakhs are Hindu untouchables. Then, one may say that non-Hindu untouchables have not been so long taken into consideration. Therefore, I would like to cite another instance from my district. The total population of my district is 11,15,000. More than one third of the population are non-Hindus and if we subtract this figure it will come to about 7 lakhs. Out of these 7 lakhs Hindus, 5 lakhs are untouchables—1 lakh Scheduled Caste people, 2 lakhs garden labourers and 2 lakhs people belonging to the backward communities. Therefore, in my district 70 per cent. of the total Hindu population are untouchables.

I have given these figures with some object; firstly to remove from the minds of hon. Members in this House and the Government, the wrong impression to the fact that untouchability does not exist in Assam; and secondly, to impress that injustice should not be done to our State in future while giving grants by the Central Government. Assam State with a population of 90,43,707, of which about 65 per cent. are untouchables, has been allotted a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the removal of untouchability, whereas Manipur State having a total population of 5,77,635 has been allotted Rs. 75,000. Thirdly, Sir, I want to point out that not a single Member from Assam has been taken in the Select Committee on this important Bill.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA *in the Chair*]

I would like to remind my friends.....

Pandit D. N. Tiwary (Saran South): On a point of order, Sir, I want to know whether we are discussing the report or this legislation?

Mr. Chairman: What is the point of order in the hon. Member wanting to know what we are discussing?

Shri Laskar: I would like to remind my friends who are entrusted with the privilege of selecting or nominating members to Select Committees, or any other committees or Boards, that they should also keep in mind that there is a Part A State named Assam in the Indian Union.

Very soon we are having this sort of social legislation. Now let us see how far this will work in society. There are so many Social Disabilities

[Shri Laskar]

Acts in force in various States, but practically with no result. We find from the Commissioner's last report that Scheduled Caste people are not even allowed to enter the post offices. We also find that Scheduled Caste students are not given admission in schools.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur): On a point of order, Sir. You have ruled that no Member should approach the Chair asking for allowing him to speak, whereas I find that an hon. Member is talking to you

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. Any point of order should not be raised in such a light manner. I have never ruled anything like that. Members have been approaching me, sending me chits and so on, and it has not been ruled that no Member should approach the Chair. Such like point of order ought not to be raised in the House to incite laughter.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Sir, I think the Deputy-Speaker once said that no Member of the House should approach the Chair for permission to speak. It is in the proceedings.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member was pleased to say that I had ordered this, which is quite wrong. The Deputy-Speaker might have done so on some previous occasion about which I do not know.

Shri Laskar: Acharyya Vinoba Bhaveji was attacked while taking some Harijans to the Baidyanath temple and some of the scheduled caste Members of Parliament and Legislatures were not allowed to enter the Viswanath Temple of Banaras with some Harijans. What are the reasons behind such actions? Social legislations require full co-operation from the Governments as well as from the people to make them effective. I think it is lacking from both sides. Mr. Srikant has also stated in his report:

> "The contention of State Governments of Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Travancore-Cochin, Bilaspur and Delhi, that no cases of untouchability occur in their States, is not correct."

Does it not show that the Governments do not like to take things seriously, but they take them very lightly? In another place he has mentioned:

> "No efforts have been made by the non-official organisations to get together and launch a country-wide propaganda for the purpose."

Without whole-hearted co-operation from both sides this sort of legislation will be a 'dead letter' in the statute-book like the Sarda Act.

The high caste people can take this responsibility and can eradicate the vicious sentiment of untouchability if they, sincerely and earnestly, so desire.

It is a fact that the Scheduled Caste people are suffering from some sort of inferiority complex due to the long-standing suppression and oppression from a group of high caste people. A section of the high caste people are also suffering from inferiority complex of being a little afraid of Scheduled Caste pepole. They utilise untouchability as a weapon to keep their position high in society and put down the position of untouchables to a low level. By this sort of legislation the untouchables will get courage to shake off their inferiority complex because they will feel that the law is with them, and also because the section of the high caste people will realise that the law will not spare them if they infringe any of the provisions of this Act. Therefore, this Act will surely bring some mental changes among both sections. Along with this legislative measure, there should be country-wide social campaign for the social and economic uplift of the downtrodden people which will bring unity, fraternity and equality as provided in our Constitution.

In conclusion, I would refer to the fact that our country has attained a

status in the international sphere during this short period after independence. It is due to our Prime Minister and also due to the fact that we all stand united behind him. Communalism, casteism and such other things will disturb our unity. We shall not allow these to proceed. Untouchability is one phase of casteism. This must be condemned, eradicated and wiped out from society. If we fail to do this, our hard-won freedom will be at stake in future. With these words I suppoort the Bill.

सेठ गोविन्द दास (मंडला जबलपुर दक्षिण) : सभापति जी, मैं गृह मंत्री जी को इस विधेयक के यहां उपस्थित करने के लिये हार्दिक बधाई देता हूं। स्वराज्य प्राप्त होने के पश्चात् सरकार ने अनेक महत्वपूर्ण विधेयक यहां पर उपस्थित किये और मेरा मत है कि उन सब विधेयकों में इस विधेयक का श्रेष्ठतम स्थान है। जब हम संविधान बना रहे थे उस समय हमने अस्पृश्यता को एक जुर्म करार दिया और यह आवश्यक था कि संविधान बनाने के पश्चात् इस प्रकार का विधेयक यहां पर बहुत शीघ्र उपस्थित होता, फिर भी यदि दिन भर का भूला भटका रात को भी घर आ जाये तो वह भूला भटका नहीं कहलाता। देर से ही क्यों न हो, यह विधेयक हमारे सामने उपस्थित हुआ।

हमको अपने देश में जो कुछ हो रहा है उसमें से अनेक बातों पर गर्व है। निर्माण की हमारी जो योजनाएं चल रही हैं, मैं समझता हूं कि उस प्रकार की योजनाएं इस संसार के बहुत कम देशों में चलती हैं। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति जितनी दूरी तक सफल हुई है, और हो रही है, उस पर भी हम को गर्व है। परन्तु हमारी जो कमजोरियां हैं उन की तरफ से भी हम अपनी आंखें नहीं मूंद सकते। जहां तक अस्पृश्यता का सवाल है इस बात को स्वीकार करना ही होगा कि इस सम्बन्ध में अभी भी हमारी अनेक कमजोरियां हैं। मुझे एक घटना का स्मरण आता है। मृत्यु के पूर्व गांधी जी, जिस समय यहां पर एशियन कान्फरेन्स हो रही थी, उस में गये थे। उन्होंने उस समय अपने भाषण में एक बात कही थी कि यदि विदेशियों को इस देश का सच्चा रूप देखना है तो वह बम्बई में, कलकत्ते में, दिल्ली में या इस प्रकार के नगरों में देखने को नहीं मिल सकता। इस देश का सच्चा रूप गांवों में देखने को मिलता है और गांवों में भी अस्पृश्यों के घरों में। गांधी जी हमारी कमजोरियों को भी हमारे सामने और संसार के सामने उपस्थित करने में कभी पीछे नहीं रहते थे। वे हमारी कमजोरियों को बुलन्द से बुलन्द आवाज में हमारे देश के सामने उपस्थित करते थे और उन को इस बात का कदापि भय नहीं होता था कि उन कमजोरियों को जानने पर दुनिया के लोग हमें क्या कहेंगे। अस्पृश्यता हमारी उसी प्रकार की कमजोरी है। इस प्रकार की कमजोरियों से विदेशों में भी हमारा मस्तक बहुत नीचे झुक जाता है।

मैं आप को अपने दो तजुर्बों को बतलाना चाहता हूं। जिस समय न्यूजीलैंड में कामनवैल्थ पार्लियामेन्ट्री कान्फरेन्स हो रही थी, और मैं उस कान्फरेन्स में दक्षिण अफ्रीका के रंग भेद के विषय में कुछ कह रहा था तो दक्षिण अफ्रीका का एक प्रतिनिधि उठ कर बोला कि आप के देश में अनटचेबिलिटी की क्या स्थिति है? मैं ने उत्तर दे दिया कि हम अपने संविधान के जरिये उस को समाप्त करने वाले हैं क्योंकि उस समय तक यह काम हुआ नहीं था। कैनाडा में फिर वही बात हुई। कैनाडा में भी जब मैं दक्षिण अफ्रीका के रंग भेद के लिए मैं कह रहा था तो फिर दक्षिण अफ्रीका का एक प्रतिनिधि खड़ा हुआ और उस ने कहा कि अनटचेबिलिटी का भारतवर्ष में क्या हाल है। उस समय हम अनटचेबिलिटी अर्थात् अस्पृश्यता को अपने संविधान में समाप्त कर चुके थे, मैं ने तत्काल उत्तर दे दिया कि हम इसे समाप्त कर चुके हैं पर उस ने फिर कहा कि कानून से समाप्त करने में कोई चीज समाप्त नहीं होती, व्यवहार में उस के समाप्त होने के संबंध में क्या हुआ है? सभापति जी, मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूं कि सत्य के नाम पर मेरे पास इस का कोई उत्तर नहीं था। हम ने संविधान में अस्पृश्यता को

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

समाप्त कर दिया है, इस में सन्देह नहीं, परन्तु हमें सत्य के नाम पर इस बात को स्वीकार करना होगा कि व्यवहार में अब तक हम उसे समाप्त नहीं कर सके हैं ।

मैं इस बात को मानता हूं कि परिस्थिति में परिवर्तन हुआ है । यदि हम पुराने समय को देखें और आज के समय को देखें तो जो लोग सार्वजनिक जीवन में रहे हैं, सन् १९२० से, उन को यह परिवर्तन स्पष्ट दृष्टिगोचर होता है । जिस समय गांधी जी ने सब से पहले अस्पृश्यता की आवाज को उठाया था उस समय अस्पृश्यता की जो अवस्था थी आज वह अवस्था नहीं है । अस्पृश्यता से हम गांधी जी के समय के भी पूर्व से लड़ रहे हैं । स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती ने आर्य समाज के द्वारा इस विषय में बहुत बड़ा काम किया था । आधुनिक भारत के दो सब से बड़े आदमी हैं । एक स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती और दूसरे महात्मा गांधी । दोनों गुजरात में पैदा हुए और गुजरात को इस बात का गर्व है कि इस प्रकार के महज्जनों को उस ने जन्म दिया । अस्पृश्यता के खिलाफ हमारी लड़ाई बराबर चली आ रही है । संविधान में अस्पृश्यता को समाप्त करने के पश्चात् और इस विधेयक को विधि के रूप में परिणत करने के पश्चात् भी हम सब का यह कर्त्तव्य होना चाहिये कि जिस जिस क्षेत्र में अस्पृश्यता है, जिस जिस क्षेत्र से हम यहां पर आते हैं, या हमारी विधान सभाओं के सदस्य जिस जिस क्षेत्र से आये हुए हैं उन सब को इस बीमारी के खिलाफ जिहाद हो । जब तक हम यह नहीं करेंगे तब तक इस प्रकार के विधेयक से हमारा पूरा काम नहीं चल सकता । मैं इस बात को मानता हूं कि यह विधेयक भी हमें बहुत दूर ले जायेगा, लेकिन इस विधेयक के साथ साथ हमें जनमत बनाने का भी प्रयत्न करना होगा । कोई भी इस प्रकार का सामाजिक विधेयक तब तक कार्य रूप में परिणत नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि जनमत भी परिवर्तित न हो ।

मैं हृदय से इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूं । मैं आशा करता हूं कि इस विधेयक में जो बातें कही गई हैं उन को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने में सरकार भी सदा कटिबद्ध रहेगी ।

Mr. Chairman: I have a list of 25 Members with me who desire to take part in this debate, and even if I am to give ten minutes to each of them, the time at our disposal will not be sufficient to give opportunities to all those who are desirous of speaking on this Bill. I would, therefore, appeal to all Members, who are taking part in this debate, to be as brief as possible.

Shri P. Ramaswamy (Mahbubnagar —Reserved—Scheduled Castes): At the outset, I must admit that I find myself in an embarrassing position. I do not know whether I should welcome the Bill or condemn it outright.

Untouchability was the greatest sin perpetrated by one section of humanity on the other. There is no parallel in comparative history. The racial and other indiscriminations, communal and religious hatreds that the world has known, fall into insignficance when they are compared with the crime of untouchability. All this went on for hundreds and thousands of years, and in the name of religion, which professes that God is omni-present and every human soul is a particle of the great soul, God It was a herculean task that Gandhiji achieved in a short time of few decades. His battle against orthodoxy is a recent history and forms part of our times. I do not say that everything has been achieved and no untouchability in any form or shape is practised. No, it is not so. Untouchability persists in spite of Gandhiji's spirit and his teachings and example pervading the country, but the point is whether this untouchability can be dealt with by measures like the present one. Doubt arises in my mind whether the present Bill would help us in improving our lot.

Let us look at the present problem. Untouchability in crude form, generally speaking, does not exist, and yet there is no real fusion in the society.

Society is not one, and looking at the caste feelings that dominate people's minds today, it will be a long journey to reach the goal of one people to one nation. So, the problem is psychological, and it cannot be handled fully by the present Bill. This is my embarrassment, and I feel that a proper remedy is not being applied to the disease. Social education is needed to eradicate untouchability, root and branch.

In spite of these short-comings, I feel I must welcome the Bill. Such a Bill was overdue. Let no fanatic create the sensation by his dogmatic adherence to the old, outworn ideas and customs. No doubt, this will be the advantage, rather the main one, namely, that this Bill would bring to his senses any fellow who still lives in his own world and does not take cognizance of the changing world that we are living in. but the point is: why then this Bill was delayed for such a long time? We achieved independence in 1947; this is 1954. Seven long years have passed. If we could pass the Preventive Detention Act in two days, could we not pass such a legislation? There is, and there was some opposition to the Preventive Detention Act, but there was never any opposition in this House to such a measure. This, I can say with confidence. Therefore, what reply can the Home Minister offer for such a delay?

I would make my position clear if I refer to some provisions of the Bill. It is common knowledge that in every village and even in the towns and cities, Harijans live in separate localities and they have no access to the localities where high castes generally live. Apart from the economic factor, the social factor persists. I am referring to the social factor here. How can this Bill help the Harijan to purchase or take on rent a house in the locality of the high caste people? No doubt, the seller will not sell his house to a Harijan simply because he is Harijan, and yet it will be very difficult to bring him within the purview of this Act. He will have thousand escapes. He can say, 'I have already sold or I do not want to sell.' The other caste Hindus might increase the bid. In short, unless the seller himself and other members of the locality do not desire or welcome it, it will be an impossible task for a Harijan to get a place in the caste-Hindu locality. The same is the case with many of the Government services and agricultural lands. The other day, when the motion was moved, it created laughter when the hon. Home Minister referred to the case of a barber. It is no more a matter for laughter; it presents a real difficulty. If we laugh at it, it is only to cover our inability. We know we cannot solve it: therefore, the best escape is to laugh it away.

While moving the Bill for reference to the Select Committee, the hon. Home Minister made certain points. I would like to say a word or two in that connection. He laid the greatest stress on creating a psychological atmosphere without which he rightly felt that the purpose of the Bill could not be fulfilled. So far as this point is concerned, he made it perfectly clear. How to create that psychological atmosphere? Does the hon. Home Minister feel that Government have nothing to do in this regard? If so, we will be glad to hear what is it that Government propose to do. Mere propaganda by the private persons will not achieve any results. Such a propaganda would be effective when it is backed by the Government actions.

I take this opportunity of suggesting a few steps that Government should take. The social problem is interrelated with economic problems. If the economic conditions of the Harijans are better, it will help that psychology. Harijans have to be economically rehabilitated This is a gigantic task and it should be taken up on a great scale. Our country has made a great name in rehabilitating 80 lakhs of refugees. This was a great task. More than Rs. 200 crores have been spent. I am all admiration for the Government. Such a Government should confidently come forward to re-

[Shri P. Ramaswamy]

habilitate crores of untouchables. Harijans have the same right on the Government as the refugees had. The refugees were dispossessed recently. We were dispossessed some thousands of years before. Our condition is more pitiable. Practically, we own no property, no land, and have no means of livelihood. The result is that whenever there is unemployment, we are the first victims. Unless all the non-Harijans are employed, we have no chance. As a result, we are pushed up into jobs that are not only the dirty ones but also pay the least. Thus, in utter misery and poverty, we have lived through ages. All skilled work has been snatched away from us. We depend upon nothing else but unskilled manual labour. Therefore, the first duty of the Government is to provide us with employment. We must get a fair quota of the land.

There should be no village where the Harijans are not allotted at least 10 per cent. of the total land. This is not a drastic demand. It is a very moderate one. At least all the land that is reclaimed, is obtained through progressive legislation. They should first be allotted to the Harijans till the quota is fulfilled. Village industries, cottage industries and small-scale industries as well as handicrafts should be made to flourish. In short, full employment is to be provided. Cannot Government spend a few crores over such an urgent task? Looking at the way they handled the rehabilitation work, it is not too much to expect from this Government that they should come forward and set apart a few crores for this work.

We have to fight separatism. In these days, separate hostels are coming forth; every community and caste has got a separate hostel in every big city. These hostels foster feelings of separatism in the young minds. I suggest to the Government to make it compulsory for every hostel to admit ten per cent. of the Harijan students. This will help in creating fusion of the society. If there should be no separate temples and no separate wells, why should there be separate hostels?

Gandhiji was a great practical man. He had suggested one remedy which, in my opinion, is the best for creating this fusion. He had appealed to every patriot to adopt one Harijan boy or a girl and bring up him or her along with his children. If a few thousand people would have come forward and acted upon it, that would have immensely helped the situation. This, he had said after many years of his following it himself. He had adopted a Harijan girl by name Lakshmi Devi. She was an inmate of Sabarmati *Ashram*. Cannot the Government think of encouraging such gestures and other methods like inter-caste marriages?

Lastly, the Harijan M.P.s, without distinction of their political parties, should be asked to take a decision in this regard, and that decision should be recommended to the Parliament for its acceptance *in toto*.

स्वामी रामानन्द शास्त्री (जिला उन्नाव व जिला रायबरेली, पश्चिम व जिला हरदोई, दक्षिण पूर्व, रक्षित, अनुसूचित जातियां) : आदरणीय सभापति महोदय:.....

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar): Is he on the Committee?

Some Hon. Members: Yes; he is.

Mr. Chairman: I am very sorry. Let us follow the convention. The convention is that those who are on the Select Committee are not to be called upon to speak. I am very sorry.

Shri Ramananda Das (Barrackpore): He is not on the Select Committee.

Some Hon. Members: He is not on the Select Committee.

Mr. Chairman: Then certainly he can go on.

स्वामी रामानन्द शास्त्री : सभापति महोदय....

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor): On a point of order. So far, the convention has been that for every two Members of the Congress Party, one Member of the Opposition is called upon to speak. But, now, in the discussion of this particular Bill, five Members of the Congress Party have been called and only one Member of the Opposition has been called.

Mr. Chairman: As a matter of fact, I do not know of any convention by virtue of which two Members of the Congress and one Member from some other party should be called. It has not been the practice in this House, and especially in a social measure like this, there is no question of paty at all. The Congress Members are quite free to vote also. I do not think this should have been made a matter of grouse on the floor of this House. On the contrary, I will call upon all Members of the House, irrespective of the party to which they belong, to speak on this measure.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Shahabad South): Even if there is any such convention, that convention should not be honoured now, for this Bill.

Mr. Chairman: There is no such convention. If a convention was there, and only the question of numbers was there, I think that for every six or seven Members from the Congress Party, only one Member from any other party could be called. But this will hardly be palatable to the other parties.

स्वामी रामानन्द शास्त्री : सभापति जी, मैं आपको हृदय से धन्यवाद देता हूं और अपने होम मिनिस्टर साहब को धन्यवाद देता हूं कि भारत की कई करोड़ पददलित जनसंख्या के उद्धार के लिए हमारे भगवान कैलाशनाथ जी कैलाश से यहां पर आ गये हैं जैसा कि मैं ने पहले सेशन में भी कहा था। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं उनको कोटिशः धन्यवाद देता हूं कि वे उन जातियों के उत्थान के लिए, जो कि हजारों वर्ष से पददलित थीं, यह विशेष विधेयक लाये। यह सेलेक्ट कमेटी में उनको विचार करना चाहिये और उसके लिये मुझे पूरी आशा है कि वह उसको कार्यान्वित करने के लिये भी पूरा प्रयत्न करेंगे। अब मैं अपने विषय पर आता हूं। सबसे पहले तो मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारे शर्मा जी जानते थे कि शास्त्री जी तो जरूर शास्त्रीय चर्चा इस बारे में करेंगे, इसलिये जानबूझ कर उन्होंने अपनी आपत्ति उठायी ताकि मैं आउट हो जाऊं....

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar): I beg his pardon, Sir, I did not do it in order to obstruct him.

स्वामी रामानन्द शास्त्री : सिवाय मुझे बोलने से वंचित रखने के अलावा और क्या वजह हो सकती है जो शर्मा जी ने....

श्री डी० सी० शर्मा (होशियारपुर): शर्मा जी ने कहा, यह न कहा जाये, नंद लाल शर्मा ने कहा ऐसा कहा जाये क्योंकि हाउस में बहुत से शर्मा हैं।

Mr. Chairman: When the hon. Member has expressed regret, the matter should be treated as closed.

स्वामी रामानन्द शास्त्री : सर्वप्रथम तो मुझे यह कहना है कि इस प्रकार का बिल तो आज से बहुत पहले, हजारों वर्ष पहले, पास हो जाना चाहिये था। शास्त्रों में ऐसा लिखा है और अथर्ववेद जिसको हम सब हिन्दू भाई मानते हैं उसमें लिखा है, लेकिन इस समय मुझे वह श्लोक नहीं याद आ रहा है वह बाद में मैं पेश करूंगा। पहले मैं पढ़ने के बारे यजुर्वेद के २६वें अध्याय का जो दूसरा मंत्र है वह मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं। वह इस प्रकार है :

यथेमां वाचं कल्याणीं आवदानि जनेभ्यः।
ब्रह्मराजन्याभां शूद्राय चारणाय च स्वाय॥

यजुर्वेद मन्त्र (२) अध्याय (२६)

वह वेद वाणी जो कि समस्त संसार के लिये कल्याणकारी है, प्रत्येक मनुष्य नौकर चाकर, मालिक, ब्राह्मण, क्षत्री, वैश्य और शूद्र सबके लिये समान रूप से लाभप्रद है उसको मैंने अभी

[स्वामी रामानन्द शास्त्री]

आपकी सेवा में उपस्थित किया लेकिन अभाग्यवश बीच में कुछ संकुचित विचार वालों ने इस का पालन नहीं किया और न तो खुद ही उस वेदवाणी को पढ़ा और न दूसरों को पढ़ाया और देश संस्कृत की वेदवाणी से वंचित रहा ।

इसके अतिरिक्त अथर्ववेद का वह मंत्र भी मैं आपको यहां पर सुनाना चाहता हूं जो मुझे पहले याद नहीं आ रहा था और वह इस प्रकार है :

समानि प्रपा सहवो अन्नं भागः
समाने योक्त्रे सहवो प्रनज्मि
सम्यञ्चमाससपर्पन्त रथनाभावरा इव ॥
अथर्ववेद का यह मन्त्र है ॥

उसका तात्पर्य यह है कि तुम्हारे खाने का स्थान एक होना चाहिये, तुम साथ मिल कर खाओ और उसमें एकता की भावना है, गाड़ी के पहियों के समान मिल कर जिस प्रकार आरा एक दूसरे के साथ जुड़ा होकर गाड़ी को चलाता है उसी प्रकार प्रत्येक मनुष्य इस समाज की जो व्यवस्था है उसको चलाये । मैं इसके पक्ष में अनेकों प्रमाण पुराणों से भी दे सकता हूं लेकिन समय न होने के कारण मैं उनको यहां पर पेश नहीं करना चाहता । पुराणों में गंगा की महिमा के सम्बन्ध में क्या ही सुन्दर लिखा है :

गंगागंगेति यो ब्रूयात् योजनानां शतैरपि मुच्यते सर्व-पापेभ्यो विष्णु लोकं स; गच्छति ॥

भविष्य तथा पद्मप्ररण का १ लोक है ।

भावार्थ----

४०० मील से भी अगर कोई "गंगा" शब्द कहता है तब भी वह सीधे बैकुंठ में चला जाता है, फिर जो भाई गंगा में नहाते हैं और गंगा, गंगा कहते हैं और उसमें मुसलमान भी आ गये उन सभी को बैकुंठ चला जाना चाहिये, यदि हम पुराणों को मानते हैं । इस आधार पर तो यह बिल बहुत पहले आना चाहिये था और इसमें देरी नहीं होनी चाहिये थी लेकिन अगर सुबह का भूला शाम को घर वापिस आजाय तो भूला नहीं कहलाता, इस नाते मैं मंत्री महोदय को यह विधेयक लाने पर बधाई देता हूं ।

10 A.M.

अब मैं प्रस्तुत विषय पर कुछ आपको बतलाना चाहता हूं और वह एक छुआछूत की घटना है जिस पर स्वयं हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब भी लज्जित हैं और वह चीज कहे बिना नहीं रही जाती । घटना इस प्रकार है । सोलह जून को ईस्टर्न कोर्ट में मिकेनिक विभाग में कुल ५४ आदमी हैं जिनमें केवल एक हरिजन है जिसका नाम रामजीदास है और जो वहां पर चपरासी के लिये छू ली तो मारा व सुराही फोड़ी गई जब कि उस चपरासी ने स्टाफ की सुराही पानी पीने के लिये छू ली तो मारा व सुराही फोड़ी गई जब रामजीदास ने विभाग के हेड डी० डी० गुप्ता को रिपोर्ट दी तो फाड़ दी । उस केस पर जब हमारे मंत्री जी ने इनक्वायरी कराई और वह डी० डी० गुप्ता के सामने हुई तो उनके सामने जो ५४ के ५४ आदमी थे उन्होंने ढंग से रिपोर्ट नहीं दी । अगर गुप्ता जी से अलग रिपोर्ट ली जाये तो सही बात का पता चलेगा । लेकिन गुप्ता जी के सामने न लें । आज उस आदमी को जान से मारने की धमकी दी जा रही है, एक हिन्दू भाई ने आकर मुझे बतलाया कि उनको यहां से ट्रान्सफर किया जा रहा है, और उन पर चार्जशीट लगायी जा रही है । इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि गवर्नमेंट की ओर से इस बात का प्रयत्न होना चाहिये कि भविष्य में वही गवर्नमेंट सर्विस में एंटर हो सके जो फार्म पर इस तरह की प्रतिज्ञा कर ले कि वह किसी तरह की छुआछूत नहीं बर्तेंगे, सर्विस कंडीशन्स के फार्म में इस तरह का एक खाना होना चाहिये । राजस्थान के बारे में मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि वहां पर होली, दीवली के दिनों में हरिजनों की औरतों को ले जाकर मोहल्लों में फिराते हैं और उनके साथ भद्दा मजाक करते हैं जो कि अनुचित है और इस प्रकार की अनुचित प्रथायें खत्म होनी चाहियें । दूसरी बात यह है कि यह जो कानून बन रहा है, ऐसा न हो कि बीच में दबाव पड़ने के कारण इसको नरम कर दिया जाये, उसका कड़ा रूप होना चाहिये और ऐसा न हो जैसा कि यहां पर शक जाहिर किया गया कि सरकारी अफसर बीच में रिश्वत खा कर अस्पृश्यता का अपराध करने

वर्गों को छोड़ दें। दूसरे जैसा श्री एस० एन० अग्रवाल ने कल कहा कि गांवों की सामाजिक परिस्थितियों ने हरिजनों को मजबूर कर दिया है कि वह स्वयं कहते हैं कि हमें कोई दिक्कत नहीं है। दूसरी घटना इस प्रकार है कि गुजरात में कलोल नामक स्थान में एक हरिजन भाई पंजाब का जो जूता गांठने वाला था वह एक होटल में चाय पीने के लिये गया, जब लोगों को मालूम हुआ कि यह हरिजन है तो उसको इतना मारा गया कि उसका हाथ टूट गया और उसका केस चल रहा है, अब वह बेचारा केस लड़ने के लिये रुपया कहां से लावे ?

इसी तरह की एक घटना का समाचार अभी अखबार में निकला है कि पटियाला में जाट भाइयों में यह बात ठहरी कि जो आदमी हरिजनों के यहां पानी पीयेगा उसको दो बोतल शराब पिलायेंगे। शराब के लालच में एक भाई ने हरिजनों के यहां पानी पी लिया। दूसरे दिन उन्होंने एकत्रित होकर हरिजनों को दंड दिया कि तुम लोग हरद्वार गंगा नहाने जाओ और २५ रुपये जुर्माना दो। मैं और भी कितने ही उदाहरण और घटनाएं पेश कर सकता हूं लेकिन समयाभाव के कारण ऐसा नहीं करना चाहता।

और अधिक न कह कर मैं इस बिल का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूं और मंत्री महोदय का अत्यन्त आभारी हूं कि उन्होंने ऐसा बिल संसद् के सामने रक्खा। मैं इस बिल का हृदय से समर्थन करते हुए निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इस को लोक प्रचार के लिये न भेजा जाये और इसको जल्द से जल्द पास करके लागू किया जाये। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूं।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल (बिलासपुर) : अस्पृश्यता निवारण विधेयक जो मंत्री महोदय यहां पर लाये हैं और जो कि सेलेक्ट कमेटी को जाने वाला है, उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूं। इस बिल में सफा तीन क्लाज ६ में इस तरह से दर्ज है :

Prohibition against refusal to sell goods or render service to untouchables.—

> "No person shall refuse to sell any goods or refuse to render any service in the ordinary course of business to any untouchable on the ground only that he is an untouchable."

इसके साथ ही साथ यदि आप आब्जेक्ट्स एन्ड रीजन्स सफा ७ में देखेंगे तो उसके 'सी' क्लाज में इस तरह से पायेंगे :

> "(c) whoever takes any part in the ex-communication of, or imposition of any social disability on, any person who refuses to practise untouchability or does any act in furtherance of the objects of this new law will also be guilty of an offence."

यह जो दोनों बातें हैं इससे यह मसला हल नहीं होता। मैं मंत्री जी को बतलाना चाहता हूं कि मध्यप्रदेश में खास कर छत्तीसगढ़ के इलाके में हमारे हरिजन भाइयों के साथ में उन्हें धोबी और नाई देने के मसले पर सभापति जी मध्यप्रदेश की सरकार ने जो, दो बिल वहां पर पास किये हैं।

The Central Provinces and Berar Scheduled Castes (Removal of Civil Disabilities) Act, 1947.

और दूसरा कानून जो वहां की सरकार ने पास किया उसका नाम

The Central Provinces and Berar Temple Entry Authorisation Act, 1947 हैं इन दो बिलों के होते हुए भी जो बिल कि सन् १९४७ में पास कर दिये गये हैं, अगर आप हरिजनों की बस्ती में उनके साथ में जायें तो पायेंगे कि कोई धोबी उन का काम नहीं करता है। और अगर कोई धोबी उन का काम कर दे तो उस को जाति से बहिष्कृत कर दिया जाता है। इसी तरह से यदि कोई नाई गांव में रहता है तो हरिजनों का काम नहीं करता है और यदि लोगों के कहने से वह कार्य कर भी दिया तो उस को भी बहिष्कृत कर दिया जाता है। यहां

[सरदार ए० एस० सहगल]

तक कि उस के ऊपर बड़ बड़ दंड लगा कर बड़ से बड़ा दंड जात बहिष्कृत का लगा दिया जाता हैं और उस के पास जो सम्पति होती हैं, जो जमीन होती हैं उस को भी बेच देना पड़ता हैं और जात के बंधन में रहना पड़ता हैं। इस कार्य को दूर करके उन्हें नाई या धोबी मिलना निहायत आवश्यक हैं।

गृह-कार्य तथा राज्य मंत्री (डा० काटजू) : क्या नाई और धोबी को ?

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : जी हां, नाई और धोबी को। जिस कान्स्टिट्एन्सी से मैं आता हूं वहां पर हरिजनों की करीब करीब चार लाख की तादाद हैं। मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूंगा कि वह इन बातों पर गौर करें। यदि हम ने कानून बनाया तो अच्छा हैं, और मध्य प्रदेश की सरकार ने बनाया तब भी बहुत अच्छा हैं। लेकिन यदि इस कानून का हम ठीक ठीक से पालन नहीं करते हैं, इस को वहां पर कड़ाई से हम लागू नहीं करते हैं तो इस कानून के बनाने से क्या फायदा होगा ? इसलिये इन सारी बातों को देखते हुए मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं कि यह जो कानून आप बनाने जा रहे हैं उसे अमली जामा पहनाइये, तो वह बहुत अच्छा होगा। लेकिन यदि यह विधेयक खाली दिखने के लिये तथा ताख पर रखने के लिये बनाया जाता हैं तो इस से तो कार्य चलने वाला नहीं हैं। यदि हम इन कठिनाइयों को दूर नहीं कर सकेंगे तो इस से क्या फायदा होगा ? मैं आज अपने सवर्ण हिन्दू भाइयों से भी कहता हूं कि आप उन को अपने यहां अगर काम पर नहीं लगावेंगे, अपने घर पर काम नहीं करने देंगे, तो उन का भला नहीं हो सकता हैं और जो अस्पृश्यता की भावना मन में बैठी हैं वह दूर न होगी। आप भले ही उन को जमीन जोतने के लिये लगा लें, लेकिन घर के जो दूसरे कार्य हैं उन से नहीं कराते हैं तो उन की स्थिति में कोई सुधार नहीं हो सकता हैं। यदि वही हमारे हरिजन भाई शहर में आ जाते हैं और वह किसी नाई की दूकान पर जाते हैं तो नाई उस के कार्य को कर देते हैं। लेकिन देहात में रहते हुए नहीं करेंगे। यदि हमारे हरिजन भाई शहर आ जाते हैं तो जो धोबी हैं वह भी उस का काम कर देंगा, लेकिन देहात में रहते हुए नहीं करेंगा। इस तरह की कारवाइयों को दूर करने के लिये विधेयक में साफ तौर पर दर्शाना था। मेरे कहने का अर्थ यह हैं कि इन बातों को देखते हुए इस में जो आप ने क्लाज रक्खा हैं उस में आप को स्पष्ट कर देना था, और आप का जो स्टेटमेन्ट आफ आब्जेक्ट्स एंड रीजन्स हैं उस में आप को हर बातों को स्पष्ट कर देना था। आप समझते हैं कि जब आप के रास्ते में दिक्कतें आयेंगी तो उस के बाद सब मसले इस से हल हो जायेंगे। लेकिन मैं ऐसा नहीं समझता। हां यह ठीक हैं कि आप बड़े योग्य वकील और एडवोकेट रह चुके हैं, लेकिन मेरी समझ में अब तक नहीं आया और मैं इन बातों तक अभी तक पहुंच नहीं सका हूं कि इस तरह से सब मसले इस विधेयक से कैसे हल हो जायेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ जो विधेयक आप ने पेश किया हैं मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूं।

श्री एन० ए० वारेकर (भंडारा—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां) : सभापति जी, गृह-मंत्री जी ने बिल यह पेश किया हैं उस के लिये मैं सब को बधाई देता हूं और चाहता हूं कि अपनी राय आप के सामने रक्खूं। सब से पहले तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो हरिजनों का एनिमी नम्बर १ हैं वह यह हैं कि जो लोग अपने को धर्म के नाम पर जिन्दा रखना चाहते हैं। मैं ने देखा कि जब यहां इस बिल की चर्चा चली, तो एक ६० साल के माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि मेरी यह इच्छा हैं कि मैं एक हरिजन लड़की के साथ विवाह करूं। हरिजनों का सवाल कोई मखौल करने का सवाल नहीं हैं, यदि कोई समझे कि यह मखौल का सवाल हैं तो मैं बता देना चाहता हूं कि आज हरिजनों में जागृति आ गई हैं, वह इस चीज को सहन

नहीं करेंगे । मखौल करने के दिन चले गये । हम तय कर चुके हैं कि हमारी जो आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक हालत है, जो विषमता है, उसे दूर करने के लिये हम कड़े से कड़ा कदम उठायेंगे । अब हम इस के लिये पूरी तरह से आमादा हो गये हैं । धर्म के नाम पर आज हमारे देश में बहुत सी बातें चल रही हैं । सभापति जी, आप को पता होगा कि हमारे देवघर में क्या हुआ । हमारे भारतवर्ष में आज कितने देवघर हैं वहां की बातें आज पेपर में नहीं आती हैं, वरना हम ने देखा है कि ऐसे कितने ही देवघर हैं जहां मानवता के अधिकार भी हरिजनों को नहीं मिलते । हम देखते हैं कि धर्म के ठेकेदार जो बने बैठे हैं वह हमेशा उस का अर्थ उल्टा लगाते हैं । एक और चीज यहां कही गई और मैं उस को दोहराता हूं, इसलिये कि हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने कहा था कि मैं अपनी पार्टी की ओर से और ब्राह्मणों की ओर से इस बिल का समर्थन करता हूं । मुझे ताज्जुब हुआ । मुझे एक किस्सा याद आता है और वह भी हिन्दू महा सभा का । उस के एक जिम्मेदार व्यक्ति थे, सभापति थे हमारे सूबे के । उन के मकान के बिकने का समय आया, मैं उन का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता । ऐसे भी १०० में से एक आध हरिजन निकल आते हैं जिन की आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक होती है । उस मकान का नीलाम हुआ, एक हरिजन ने उस की बोली बोली । लेकिन धर्म के नाम पर जिन्दा रहने वाले लोगों और मजहब के नाम पर जिन्दा रहने वाले लोगों ने सिर्फ इसलिये कि बोली बोलने वाला, पैसा लगाने वाला हरिजन था, उस का सौदा नहीं पटने दिया । और वह हमारा कार्यकर्ता आज भी मकान का कब्जा ले न सका । मैं इसलिये यह चीज कहना चाहता हूं कि आज हम धर्म के नाम पर जीते हैं । एक और किस्सा, पंद्रह रोज पहले हुआ, जो कि शुद्धि करण के सम्बन्ध में था । मैं ने देखा कि हरिजन ईसाई होता है, या धर्म परिवर्तन करता है, इसलिये नहीं कि वह धर्म परिवर्तन को पसन्द करते हैं, वह धर्म परिवर्तन करते हैं इसलिये कि वह मजदूर हो जाते हैं । जब उन को मानवता के अधिकार नहीं मिलते, या जो दूसरे अधिकार उन को चाहियें वह मिलने में कठनाई आती है । वे चले जाते हैं जहां पर उन को सुविधायें तथा अधिकार मिलते हैं । हमारे एक बड़े नेता कल बोल रहे थे, कि उन का इरादा यह था कि वह एक हरिजन को शुद्ध कर लें । मैं उन से कहना चाहता हूं कि यदि उन को शुद्धीकरण का कार्य करना हो तो पहले उन धर्म के ठेकेदारों को शुद्ध करें जो हमारे एम० एल० एज० और एम० पीज० को भगवान के दर्शन करने में रुकावट डालते हैं । उनमें से एक स्वामी करपात्री जी जो धर्म के ठेकेदार बने हुए हैं । पहले उन के दिल और दिमाग को दुरुस्त करने की जरूरत है । इस के लिये मैं ने उससे पहिले भी कहा था और आज भी कहना चाहता हूं कि यही लोग हमारे दुश्मन नम्बर १ हैं जो कि धर्म के नाम पर जिन्दा रहने वाले हैं और धर्म को जिन्दा रखने वाले कहलाते हैं । भीतरी बात यह है कि जो वह नारे बुलन्द करते हैं या जो अनेक बातें कहते हैं वह सुनने में बहुत अच्छी लगती हैं लेकिन उन का कोई भी कहना वह अमल में नहीं लाते ।

दूसरी चीज इस बिल के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि पानी की समस्या जो है वह हमारे सामने बड़ी भारी समस्या है । आप को पता होगा हमारे प्रदेश में एक बालमगांव---सांवनेर तहसील में है । उस के नजदीक एक कुंआ है । वहां एक हरिजन पानी भरने गया तो उस को एक सवर्ण हिन्दू भाई ने डोर से बांध दिया और कुंएं में डाल दिया । उस गांव का कुंआ जनपद यानी डिस्ट्रिक्ट कौंसिल का है, हम ने उस को लिखा कि यह एक सार्वजनिक कुंआ है उस में यह घटना घटी है । लेकिन उस पर कोई एक्शन नहीं लिया गया । इसी तरह से उमरेड तहसील में भी एक किस्सा हुआ था । वहां पर दस हरिजन भाइयों को कुंएं में डाल दिया गया ।

श्री बी० जी० देशपांडे (गुना) : धर्म का ठेका लेने वाली कांग्रेस की गवर्नमेन्ट वहां है उस में यह सब हुआ है ।

श्री एम० ए० वीरकर : मैं इस चीज को आज इसलिये कह रहा हूं कि यह सब बातें आज आप

[श्री एन० ए० बोरकर]

के सामने रक्खी जा रही हैं और यह सब चीजें आज हमारे देहातों के अन्दर चल रही हैं और जो लोग धर्म के नाम पर जिन्दा रहना चाहते हैं उन का दिल और दिमाग इस तरह का है । वह अभी भी धर्म के ठेकेदार बने हुए हैं । मैं कई ऐसी मिसालें देना चाहता हूं । उमरेड तहसील की जो हालत है वह तो सामने मैंने रखी है । और इन कामों को करने वाले वही लोग हैं जिन्होंने इस बिल का समर्थन किया था और जो आज भी धर्म के नाम पर जिन्दा रहने वाले हैं और ऐसे कामों में रुकावट डालते हैं ।

श्री बी० जी० देशपांडे : अधर्म के नाम पर जिन्दा रहने वाले जो कांग्रेसजन हैं उन की हुकूमत वहां है.....

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The hon. Member is making a speech. I am asking him not to object.

श्री एन० ए० बोरकर : दूसरी चीज.....

Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar): On a point of order, Sir. The hon. speaker has just now mentioned the name of a gentleman, Swami Karpatriji, who is not present here to defend himself. Is it proper?

Mr. Chairman: He has said nothing disparaging. Taking the names of such persons well known all over the country is not objectionable at all.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma: But he is not pesent here.

Mr. Chairman: Every person cannot be present in this House.

श्री एन० ए० बोरकर : अध्यक्ष महोदय, नागपुर शहर में हरिजनों के लिए मकान की समस्या तो सबसे कड़ी समस्या है । जो माननीय सदस्य कल बोले थे उनके मकान के पास का मामला है । एक हरिजन अफसर थे । उनको एक मकान मिला धंतोली में । पहले उन धर्म के ठेकेदारों को यह पता नहीं था कि वह एक हरिजन हैं । इसलिए उनको किराये पर मकान दे दिया । दो महीने के बाद पता चला कि वह हरिजन हैं । श्रीमान् मैं आपको बतलाता हूं कि इस बात का पता होने पर माननीय सदस्य को उस मकान से निकाला गया । जो माननीय सदस्य परसों बोले थे यह उनके पास ही हुआ था । और जिस हालत से उनको निकाला गया वह मैं आपको नहीं बताना चाहता । एक ऐसा हरिजन जो कि पढ़ा लिखा है, जो सरविस में है, जिसका 'इकानमिक स्टेटस' बढ़ा हुआ है, अगर उसके साथ नागपुर शहर में, उस जगह के पास जहां पर कि धर्म के नाम पर जिन्दा रहने वाले रहते हैं, इस तरह का बरताव होता है, और वह धर्म के ठेकेदार उसमें कोई हस्तक्षेप नहीं करते, तो क्या इन लोगों से कोई आशा की जा सकती है ।

यह अस्पृश्यता निवारण का सवाल हमारे देश में सबसे बड़ा सवाल है और मैं चाहता हूं कि इसके लिए एक अलग हरिजन मिनिस्ट्री बनायी जाय । अगर आपको हिन्दू धर्म के इस कलंक को मिटाना है तो आपको इस काम को करने के लिए एक अलग मिनिस्ट्री बनानी होगी और उसमें आदमी रखने होंगे, जो कि इस काम में दिलचस्पी लेने वाले हों । जब तक इसमें कोई हृदय से देखने वाला आदमी नहीं होगा तब तक इस विधेयक का अमल में आना मुश्किल होगा । मैं कहता हूं कि हमें तमाम देश का दिल व दिमाग बदलना है । यह बहुत वर्ष का पुराना ढांचा है और इसको बदलने के लिए अगर अलग मिनिस्ट्री नहीं बनेगी तो मैं समझता हूं कि हमारा यह मसला हल नहीं होगा । यह न हो कि यह कानून केवल किताबों में पड़ रह जाये । हमारे संविधान ने अस्पृश्यता को हटा दिया है और भिन्न भिन्न राज्यों में इसके लिए कानून बने हुए हैं लेकिन फिर भी हमको मानवता के अधिकार नहीं मिल पाते । मैं समझता हूं कि जबतक हमारी मिनिस्ट्री अलग नहीं होगी तबतक यह सवाल हल नहीं होगा । यह कानून तो ठीक है पर यदि इसको सिर्फ कानून के रूप में ही नहीं रहना है तो मैं चाहूंगा कि इस पर अमल करने के लिए होम मिनिस्टर साहब एक अलग मिनिस्ट्री बनायें

की सांचें और उस मिनिस्ट्री को जल्द से जल्द कार्यान्वित किया जाये। यह हरिजनों का जो सवाल है यह हमारे देश में सबसे भारी सवाल है। आपने हरिजनों को यदि मानवता के अधिकार दिये तो मैं चाहता हूं कि इस देश के हरिजन इस देश की आर्थिक, सामाजिक और दूसरी विषमताओं को दूर करने में पूरा पूरा हिस्सा लेंगे। जैसा कि इतिहास बताता है कि वे अबतक लेते रहे हैं। अगर उनको यह अधिकार दिये गये तो वे हिन्दुस्तान का नक्शा बदलने में सबके साथ अपना कदम उठायेंगे।

Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda): This is a welcome measure, thoug I also join those who have complained that it has not come a day too early, rather it is belated. We adopted our Constitution about five years ago, and then we abolished untouchability and its practice in any form whatsoever was to be punished. But we have waited for five long years to lay down the specific offences that are to be punished and the procedure that is to be adopted in meeting this challenge. So the complaint that has been put here that it is belated and ought to have come much earlier is justified on that account. The Home Minister did say that there were measures passed by the different States who had taken upon themselves to meet this challenge; and they have been in force for some time. Certainly various States have passed such legislation and they have taken the steps that they could. But even then the Central measure ought to have come much earlier.

I want to say here with all the force at my command that it is no act of clemency that we are showing to the Harijans, it is no kindness to the Harijans that we are passing this legislation. Rather it should be in the spirit of atonement for our past sins that we should pass this legislation as early as possible. It would be the highest act of patriotism on our part when we root out this untouchability. Because, if we love our country, if we want to see our nation progress, if we want to see that we are welded into one homogeneous community, then it is all the more essential that we should root out this evil as early as possible. The strength of the chain, as is usually said, is the strength of the weakest link. Unless we strengthen that link, so that the whole chain becomes sufficiently strong and the nation can progress uniformly, we cannot rank among the front nations as we desire.

In his first report this is what the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes had to observe:

> "Formerly, somewhere in the South, the shadow of a Harijan used to pollute other people and, therefore, their entry in particular streets was prohibited."

But he said:

> "I have not come across any cases where roads or Government schools were forbidden for the Harijans."

This was the first report that he made. Certainly, if these were the facts then we can be proud that we have made some progress in that direction. And the Commissioner made a recommendation then, that is in 1951, that—

> "the most difficult barrier and hurdle for the Harijans to cross is that they should have access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment and allowed the use of public wells, tanks, bathing ghats and other places of public resort."

I suppose it is in pursuance of that recommendation that this Bill has been brought. So far as those recommendations are concerned, I feel they would be sufficiently met by the legislation before us and that those hurdles that he complained of might be removed.

But when I see the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes for 1953 I am shocked to find that though

[Sardar Hukam Singh]

in 1951 he held that view, the instances that he quoted in 1953 go to contradict that. It is surprising that even now, that is during 1953, there were 232 cases of refusal to allow entry into shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment, 50 cases of refusal to allow the use of wells, tanks and bathing ghats, 22 cases of refusal to allow entry into temples and other religious places, 9 cases of refusal to allow the use of ornaments, good clothes, etc., and eating of ghee, sweets, etc., 8 cases of refusal to allow the use of public conveyances like taxis, tongas, palkies, etc., and horse-riding, 4 cases of refusal to allow the use of public roads and resorts (even in 1953 it did happen that there was refusal to allow the use of public roads as well), and 37 other cases of a miscellaneous nature, in which ordinary rights could not be allowed to these unfortunate brethren of ours.

But, we should not be complacent that this legislation would all that we require to do to root out this evil. It would not be enough, as has been observed by many hon. Members in this House, to place this measure on the statute book. It is not the Government alone, I admit, that can do this job. All political parties, social organisations and other public workers who feel that we should grow up as a nation will have to contribute their best towards this movement. Here is a field in which everybody can join and do his mite so that this evil of untouchability is eradicated, as was observed or desired by the Home Minister root and branch. Legislation is already there in different States as we have been told. But, the complaint is, as the Commissioner also says, when he made this report, in a very plaintive mood, rather in a strain of despondency, that the information collected from the State Governments shows that there has been no appreciable improvement with regard to the practice of untouchability. It is rather disappointing that in spite of all the efforts that we have made, the position should be this. I admit the Government has taken certain measures and the States have not lagged behind. But, this is the information of the Commissioner whose information certainly has to be valued. He has said that the information collected from the State Governments shows that there has been no appreciable improvement with regard to the practice of untouchability. Harijans were not allowed to take water from even Government wells. Again, a marriage procession of Scheduled Castes people with umbrellas and shoes on was beaten in a village. He goes on to give certain other instances. In various States these things have happened. The Delhi case is cited. In the Residency Magistrate's court, a Harijan had to pay the price of those utensils which he used. There are also other instances given which I need not read here. We have to admit that legislation has not done so far all that we want it to achieve. Therefore, as has been observed by the Commissioner as well, it is public opinion that has to be created. Unless that conscience is created that if there is even one incident, there is a revolt in everybody's mind that it is abominable and that it has to be prevented at all costs, unless we create that public opinion, the object cannot be achieved. No amount of legislation would be sufficient to eradicate that evil which has lived for so many centuries. Therefore, besides legislation, it shall have to be seen that it is implemented properly and the officers at least are such that consider this as a pious duty, and feel that it has to be done and would discharge their duty consciously. Of course, it is certainly the duty of every individual also. Unless that public opinion is created, I am diffident about the achievement of the object. Unless the object is achieved, the slur will remain and we cannot attain that status that we so often proclaim that we want to rank among the first rate nations in the world.

Shri Asoka Mehta (Bhandara): I welcome the introduction of this Bill, belated though the introduction is. In a sense, it is an obligatory Bill. Under article 35 (a) (ii) of the Constitution, all legislation penalising untouchability has to be enacted by Parliament. In the last 4 or 5 years therefore, we were witnessing an unfortunate situation. The State legislatures were not in a position to modify whatever legislation they had passed on the subject. Nor did the Parliament enact any legislation in the matter. It was not possible for the State Governments or the Governors to issue any Ordinances, because, if I have understood the Constitution aright, under article 213(3), Ordinances, in this matter, cannot be issued by the Governors. Any way, now that the Bill is before us, I hope that the Bill will be so shaped by the Select Committee that it will be able to fulfil the purpose that we have in view.

I welcome the four features that have been introduced in the Bill, the four features that have been mentioned in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. But, I must point out that the scope of the Bill is unnecessarily limited. I do not know why provision has not been made in the Bill for the right to reside anywhere as well as the right to hold and dispose of property, the two rights that have been given under the Constitution in article 19 (e) and 19 (f). Likewise, I have not found in the Bill any provision for making it an offence to interfere with the police. My experience has been that there are occasions where a mob collects and interferes with police or other Government officials in exercising the powers that have been given to them to safeguard the interests of the untouchables. I have not found in this Bill any provision to make such an interference a penal offence: This is a Bill under article 35 (a)(ii) read with article 17 only.

I find from the reports that our Commissioner has given so far that it is necessary to have a Bill that would take into consideration the other relevant articles also, articles 15, 16, 19, 25 and 29. It is necessay to come to this conclusion because in the reports that have been given to us by the Commissioner we find that the legislations that have been enacted by the State Governments on the subject have proved to be ineffective so far. In his report for 1952, he observes:

> "Legislative measures adpoted for the purpose (the removal of the practice of untouchability and the resultant disabilities) in the various States have not proved very effective. In cases where commission of offences punishable under these legislations are not cognisable, the reasons for their ineffectiveness are obvious. The pity, however, is that even where such offences are made cognizable, these legislations have not been of any material help to those for whom they were enacted."

He has also stated in his latest report that no provision has been made for free legal aid to our untouchable friends by the State. In the table of cases that has been given on page 28 of the recent report, we find ample justification for the conclusions that have been drawn by the Commissioner.

Discussing this state of affairs, in the report for 1953, the Commissioner observes,—this is a very important observation:

> "The reason for this apparently is that the Scheduled Caste pepole are too much dependent on their better placed brethren and often do not dare to go to the police or the courts of law for the redress of their grievances. This is the cause of the problem. Unless effective steps are taken both through legislation and administrative policy to rehabilitate psychologically the persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, all punitive measures will be ineffective."

[Shri Asoka Mehta]

This is what the Commissioner says. We should introduce legislation which takes into consideration also articles 15, 16, 17, 19, 25 and 29. When we go through the reports, we find that in a place like Hyderabad, a major city in our country, over a lakh of Harijans are living in pitiable conditions, and there are no provisions for light, water and sanitation for the Harijans. Likewise, the Report of the Scavengers' Living Conditions Enquiry Committee shows that similar conditions exist in other parts of the country also. It says that in the cities and towns civic consciousness is so dormant that Municipalities, Corporations and District Boards are very reluctant in providing even the primary amenities of life like decent housing, lighting, water supply to their employees, generally Banghi and Harijan employees. Surely something should be done to penalise this kind of indifference.

It is surprising, it is shocking to find that today in free India, in the Indian Republic of our dreams, Scheduled Castes people are living in conditions of semi-serfdom. It has been pointed out by the Commissioner that 60,000 Scheduled Caste labourers are working today in semi-slavish conditions in Malabar. He has also drawn our attention to the condition of the Musahars in Bihar and he has pointed out:

> "The economic condition of the Harijans in villages pitiable indeed. They are mostly landless and completely dependent upon the landlords for their daily bread. Their so-called houses built of mud and thatched with grass sometimes stand on pieces of land which they cannot call their own and from which they can be evicted any moment at the whim of the landlords. They live in ignorance, fear and century-old traditions, leading an impoverished and difficult existence without any property worth the name. The conditions of some of these known as Musahars in Bihar, are akin to those of agrestic serfs and have been well brought out in the report of the Bihar Harijan Enquiry Committee published recently (1952)."

None of these reports seem to have been taken into consideration by the Government before framing the measure that they have brought before us.

There are four kinds of equality that we desire for our people—equality before the law, equality in political suffrage, social equality and equality of opportunity. I believe we have given our people equality before the law. We have given our people equality in political suffrage. What we are striving to give to our people is social equality and equality of opportunity. In order to give social equality and equality of opportunity, certain fundamental changes, certain forces of social mobility will have to be released. I endorse almost all that Tandonji said yesterday, but may I appeal to the Government to take into consideration the suggestion that my Party has been making for a long time? Why should we not organise a land army? Why should we not recruit half a million or a million people from among the Scheduled Castes? There are vast areas of cultivable waste lands in our country which can be brought under cultivation. May be Rs. 200 crores will have to be spent. These persons will have to be recruited, maintained, and provided with the wherewithals to bring this land under cultivation, and during the process not only will they understand the elements of organisation and receive education, but they will be able to build up new villages. I would not be satisfied with Tandonji's suggestion, *viz.*, a few model villages here and there. We want no window-dressing. What we are interested in ultimately is the solution of the problem. Why should it be difficult for us to see that in the next five years a million persons from the Scheduled Castes are settled on new areas, reclaimed areas, waste lands that have been brought under cultivation by the

resources made available by the country, by our Government and by the sweat and enthusiasm, elan of our liberated people? If that is done, we shall be able to create a new kind of community here—a sort of converting waste lands into gardens that is being attempted in Israel. After all, let us remember that there are status relations and kinship associations among Harijans. They provide a source of strength. They provide a vital energy and if they are properly utilised, they can be a source of creative transformation of our ancient land.

In this connection, I would like to invite your attention to recent researches that have been made on the entire problem of social mobility. The question of social mobility is of paramount importance because it has been found that it may be possible for a few people to rise to the top. The elite may come up. After all, in this House there are sitting with us distinguished Members of the Scheduled Castes, and we are proud of them. But, after 1909 and 1918, even in the political sphere Indians used to occupy distinguished positions. Surely we were not satisfied with that. What we wanted was a structural change in the political life of our country. These distinguished friends who are sitting here are ornaments of the House, are ornaments of the country, but they are merely the elite. What is needed is to raise the condition of the mass.

I find, Sir, that in England out of every hundred persons born to unskilled persons, only 25 remain as unskilled workers. Seventy-five move up. Three out of every four sons of unskilled workers move up into higher positions. We want to see that in this country three out of four, if possible four out of four pepole, are able to move up from the conditions in which they are born. That is ultimately the concept of social mobility. In order that such a concept of social mobility is properly worked out, it is very necessary to pay attention to two aspects of the problem.

In this book, "Social Mobility in Britain" by Proof Glass, which has just been published it is pointed out:

> "The analysis of the information collected by the sample investigation into social mobility in Great Britain has so far led to two broad conclusions. First, the type and level of education attained by the subject who co-operated in the investigation depended very heavily upon the social status (as measured in terms of occupation) of the subjects' fathers. Secondly, taking male subjects only, the relation between parental and filial status was seen to be positive and significant at all levels of the status heirarchy, and especially high at the upper levels. Moreover, a similar and powerful relationship was found in studying movements over three generations."

That means that the position to which a son is able to rise as compared to the social position of his father depends upon the educational facilities that are provided. That idea is further developed in the concluding portion of this Chapter:

> "The analysis has shown that education acts in two ways to influence the relation between the status of the subjects and their fathers. In the first place, the type of secondary schooling affects the degree of association between parental and final status. From this point of view it is the effect of the grammar school (or its equivalent) which stands out sharply. Given a grammar school background, there is a high parental-filial association for subjects whose fathers were in the upper status categories and a low association for subjects whose father were in lower status categories. For the latter group of subjects, a grammar school education increases the distance ascended in the status scale; for the former group, it reduces the distance descended. Secondly, further education appears

[Shri Asoka Mehta]

> generally as a reinforcing rather than as a critical agent. The decisive stage in the educational background is the grammar school or its equivalent. If that stage is attained, further education intensifies the parental-filial association for the sons of upper status fathers and still further increases the social ascent of the sons of lower status fathers."

Now, that is the reason why the Government of Travancore-Cochin introduced free education as far as the seventh standard. I am not satisfied with that reform. I would like to see that the grammar school education is given to every single person in this country, no matter what his age is.

One of the reasons why I have suggested a land army of a million people —for which let us spend Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 crores—is that we would be able to work out our plans for giving a new organisational orientation to these pepole, for imparting education, for providing them with a cutural background that is needed if they are to be uplifted as a whole. It is not that a few people should be picked up. We are proud of our Ambedkars and Jagjivan Rams but we would be prouder and happier still, if it became possible for the entire mass of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be integrated in the fabric of our society. If that is to be done, we must concentrate upon some of the researches; we must try and learn these things from the social researches that are being carried on in other countries of the world as well as in our country. I am surprised to find that neither the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes nor Government have tried to provide a wider setting to the thinking on this subject.

Just one more point, and I have done. The biggest responsibility is the responsibility of Government. It is unfortunate to find that in Madras there are separate schools for Harijans today. Separate burning-ghats are created for Harijans there. May I also point out that in his very first report, the Commissioner himself has drawn attention on pages 26 and 27 to the fact that the forest officers themselves are responsible for giving low wages, and for treating the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as if they were mere serfs and slaves? If the Government Departments function in this manner, there can be no hope for the removal of untouchability. If we are serious about the removal of untouchability—and I know, every section of this House is serious—let us try to give to this problem a wider framework. Let us not look at it from the point of view only of penal offences, but let us try to understand the social and the economic aspects of the problem, and try to incorporate them into the legislation that we are trying to put on the statute-book here today.

Shri G. H. Deshpande (Nasik-Central): I rise to support the motion for reference to the Select Committee, and oppose the motion for circulation. Much has been said during the last three days, when we were discussing this social measure, that legislation alone will not help. I have no doubt that this law alone will not help. But nobody has said that this law alone will help.

I rise to support this measure, because I do think that it will advance the cause of the untouchables. We have been trying for long for the removal of untouchability, and according to me, it is really a matter for shame and humiliation for every progressive Indian to find that this evil should persist even after seven years of our independence. We have already stepped into the eighth year of our independence, and we still find that this evil of untouchability is persistent on a large scale. Granting all that, may I ask whether a law of this nature, wherever it has been passed, has not helped the cause to a certain

extent? My own experience in Bombay State is that conditions were much better, so far as the removal of untouchability was concerned, ever since we have passed those two laws in our State. Before we passed those laws, the conditions were worse. We were carrying on propaganda—of course, propaganda has much value no doubt,—and public opinion was being converted, but the progressive elements were not able to assert themselves, until this sort of legislation was there in the Bombay State. I come here from a place known as Nasik, which was once the citadel of orthodoxy in Maharashtra. There is the Kala Ram Temple there, which is very well-known. It is placed in the heart of Dandakaranyam, and Ram lived there for a number of months. Many pilgrims come over there, but that temple was not open to the Harijans. *Satyagraha* was offered by the Harijans, and Dr. Ambedkar led his batch of *satyagrahis* in 1929. I myself and some of us were associated with that *satyagraha*. We carried on an intensive campaign regarding temple entry movement there. We found that public opinion was more and more coming in our favour. Politics was mixed with that *satyagraha*, and it became impossible for us to associate with them after some time. But we did not give up the movement. Then, when we entered into the Legislature and passed a law, those very people who were opposing temple entry were there to receive the Harijans. The orthodox people, all these Karpatriji Maharajas and others, did not have the moral courage with them to oppose it. So, do not talk of any serious opposition from them. The moment you pass the law, the moment they find that the State machinery is behind you, they immediately come and obey everything, and they give everything that they denied before the law was there. That has been my experience. So, what I want to say is that after you pass this law, the only thing that will be required is to see that the entire State machinery, and the organised and progressive public opinion is behind this law. Otherwise what happens is this. Even in places where such a law is there, this has happened. If a Harijan is refused permission to draw water from a public well, if we go there, the caste Hindu people come and say to us, no, we never opposed them, how can we oppose, there is the law, there is the religion, and who can deny even the facility of drinking water. But after we go back, they try to harass these Harijans, because in most of the villages—why in most of the villages, in fact, in every village—the Harijans are in a minority, and they are the most downtrodden people. So, the caste Hindus find it easy to harass them. But if we take some more care when we go there again to see that the water is drawn by the caste Hindus as well as the Harijans in our presence, and we post police there for one month, the practice goes on, and when we repeat the visit we find that things go on all right, and everything goes on well. But if this care is not taken, we receive repeated complaints, and the Harijans come to us and say, they are again denying us our rights, when you come, it is all right, when the officers come, it is all right, but when you and the officers leave us, we are again at their mercy. So, this is a matter in which care has to be taken by paying repeated visits. It should be made an obligatory part of the duty of a District Superintendent of Police or a District Magistrate to see that whenever he receives a complaint, he must rush to that village and see that the Harijans are allowed to exercise their full rights. If that is not done, then this law will not be effective. Whether the law will be effective or not depends on the way how the administration is carried on, on the way how the organised public opinion is functioning.

It is no use simply giving expression to these things in cities. We must go to the villages, and we must find out these things for ourselves. Some reference was made to the incident of a barder. In Nasik, long before we had passed the law, we had organised

[Shri G. H. Deshpande]

ourselves into a movement, and we had requested all the barbers in the city not to refuse entry to Harijans in their saloons. Most of them agreed. But some orthodox people took it into their heads to organise a meeting of the barbers, and said that those barbers who allowed Harijans in their saloons should be boycotted. When we got the news of that meeting, we went over there, and we told them, how are you justified in this, and even when this law was not there, I tell you, in a place like Nasik which was then the citadel of orthodoxy, all the barbers were convinced, and they told the so-called caste Hindus who were in a minority even then, that they will henceforth allow Harijans in their saloons, whatever the caste Hindus may do. Then by and by, the saloons were thrown open to the Harijans, and the hotels etc. also were thrown open to the Harijans. All this was done by peaceful and persuasive methods, and not with the help of law. The moment we got the law in our hands, the moment we were in a position to pass legislation in our State, things changed to some extent for the better. But I do not want to say that simply because you pass a law, everything will become all right. The evil remains even to this day.

During the off-session period, when I was in my district, I learnt that in one place, a Harijan bridegroom was not permitted to be taken in procession on horseback through the caste Hindu locality. I sent word to the caste Hindus of that village. They came to me, and I told them, what is this, do you think that there is any sense in doing this, are you not ashamed of what you have done, and so on. And what was done afterwards? We went to the village again, we persuaded the bridegroom to sit on the horseback and we took a big procession.....

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon cum Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): After the marriage?

Shri G. H. Deshpande: Yes. Then, a big procession was taken through the streets of the caste Hindu locality. The bridegroom was garlanded. We had a mixed tea party. Then we went to the well and we made them draw water together, and that water was used by all people sitting in one line. So, persuasion had some effect.

Shri Velayudhan: What happened to the bridegroom?

Shri G. H. Deshpande: Nothing. *(Interruptions)*. I would like to tell the whole House through you that those who insist on the practice of untouchability have no moral fervour with them. They are doing it simply because the past generations used to do it. They are doing it because they are misguided to do so. The moment we go and convince them, with the entire State machinery behind us, they realise their mistake, and they come to be in favour of the removal of untouchability. The opposition evaporates like anything. I am not very doubtful that if we put in adequate efforts, very soon we will have a day, when this evil of untouchability would have been eradicated. According to me, that day is not far off. Of course, much effort will have to be put in by all the parties. Now, look at the conditions that exist in the country. There is not a single political party in India today, which has got on its programmes an item that the practice of untouchability should continue. Nobody, not even the Ram Rajya Parishad can have it as their programme; they may have it in their programme, but they have not got the courage to come to the public and say that the practice of untouchability should be continued.

Shri Nand Lal Sharma: I shall say it here and now.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: I would like to tell you that they have got that name of Ram Rajya Parishad, but I know that some of their acts are like those of Ravana and not of Rama.

But even that party which has got that stamp of orthodoxy on it has not

got the courage to go and say that this practice of untouchability should be observed. I tell you that these are the days of democracy and no man who wants to enter public life can do so with such ideas. Things are very difficult for reactionary pepole to come over and say when adult franchise is there 'I would like to observe the practice of untouchability'. Those days are gone. Gandhiji has lived in this country, and he has not lived uselessly. He has spent his life in a useful manner. Democracy has some content. When we fought for freedom, we said that we were all serious of having this freedom which we have, freedom which will have equality in social matters, which will have equality in economic matters. My friend, a leader of the Socialist Party, just now went on quoting the distinctions between the classes in England. I say that in England much less differences exist between the different strata of society. But why is it so? They had an opportunity to exploit the entire world. The entire resources of the world were there. They thrived—the English society thrived— on our lives; that is why their whole standard of living is raised. You cannot compare ourselves with them. Take into consideration what has been done during these last seven years. You will find that we have done much during the last seven years, but much remains to be done, so far as the practice of untouchability is concerned—I do agree. But I only want to say this, that the effort to have this law should not be minimised. It is no use saying that this is a good law, but it will do anything. I say it will go a long way. If Government have not done enough, what were the MLAs doing? What were the MPs doing? What were their organised parties doing? If my friends of the Socialist or Communist Parties ask what Government have done, I would ask, 'What have you done? What have your parties done?' Is not the very fact that untouchability remains today in this country a shame and a humiliation to every organised political party in this country? Are we to enter into a dispute and say whether you have done more or we have done less? Is it not a thing that we, all Indians, should take in hand? Is it not a thing in which we, all Indians, should unite? Is it not thing that this *swaraj* which we have achieved, this independence which we have achieved, is to be protected and extended by the efforts of all of us? If we are all unanimous on this, then why is it that we should doubt that it will persist for any length of time? If we are all serious, if we are all prepared to work shoulder to shoulder so far as this question is concerned, I have no doubt that within three or four years it will go into history and this evil will be eradicated. I want the Government to be very serious and sincere—I have no doubt that they will be serious and sincere—but my only appeal through this House to the entire country, to all the progressive forces in India, is to come together and to attack this evil of untouchability and see that this practice of untouchability will ever be removed from society. I support the reference of the Bill to a Joint Select Committee.

श्री वाल्मीकि (जिला बुलन्दशहर रक्षित अनुसूचित जातियां) : सभापति महोदय आज दो तीन दिन से इस अस्पृश्यता निवारण बिल पर जो बहस हो रही है और अस्पृश्यता निवारण के लिये जो प्रयत्न किये जा रहे हैं उनका मैं स्वागत करता हूं । मैं यह जानता हूं कि देश के अन्दर यह छुआछूत का कलंक आज का नहीं है, अनेक वर्षों का है और मैं गांधी जी के शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूं : "अस्पृश्यता वर्त्तमान समाज के माथे पर कलंक का टीका है । यह जिस रूप में आज हिन्दू समाज में प्रचलित है वह भगवान और मनुष्य दोनों के विरुद्ध पाप है । जैसे विष की एक बूंद सारे दूध को खराब कर देती है उसी प्रकार इसने सारे समाज को खराब कर दिया है" ।

अभी जब मैं यह बहस सुन रहा था तो यहां पर धर्म और अधर्म की चर्चा उठी । मैं यह जानना

[श्री वाल्मीकि]

हूं कि इस देश के अन्दर जो अछूत रहे हैं वह भले ही न छुए गये हों लेकिन हिन्दुओं पर अछूतों का एक अहसान है । मैं जानता हूं कि धर्म परिवर्त्तन की चीज नहीं है । धर्म हृदय की चीज है । हमने सदैव धर्म का पालन किया है अतः हम आज भी जीवित हैं ।

धर्म एव हतो हन्ति, धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः ।
तस्माद्धर्मो न हन्तव्यः, मा नो धर्मो हतोवधीः ॥

उस धर्म की भावना हम में उनके उपकार से नहीं आई । वह वेद से भी नहीं आई क्योंकि हम संस्कृत की उस वाणी से वंचित रक्खे गये जिसे

"यथेमां वाचं कल्याणीमावदानि जनेभ्यः"

वेद मंत्र में कहा गया था । महर्षि स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती ने इस मंत्र को कह कर आज से बहुत साल पहले देश का ध्यान आकर्षित किया, लेकिन धर्मान्धता तथा धार्मिक कट्टरता यहां पर होने के कारण वह बात आगे नहीं चल सकी । आज भी अगर इस बिल को कोई सबसे बड़ा खतरा है तो वह खतरा धर्मान्धता और धार्मिक कट्टरता से है । मैं उत्तररामचरित नाटक का एक उदाहरण आपके सामने पेश करना चाहता हूं जिससे यह सिद्ध हो जायगा कि ब्राह्मण और भंगी के बीच हमारे समाज में कितनी चौड़ी खाई है और जब तक उस खाई को पाटा नहीं जाता तबतक यह देश आगे नहीं जा सकता । मैं यह जानता हूं कि गांधी जी ने और अनेक संतों ने और अनेक महापुरुषों ने इस दिशा में प्रयत्न किये हैं । भगवान बुद्ध की वाणी है :

न जच्चा वसलो होति, न जच्चा होति ब्राह्मणो ।
कम्मुना वसलो होति, कम्मुना होति ब्राह्मणो ।
"धम्मपिन्ति सुखं सेति" ।

हमने धर्म का पालन किया है । हम आज भी सुख से सोते हैं, चैन से सोते हैं । हां तो मैं उत्तररामचरित का जिक्र कर रहा था कि एक ब्राह्मण अपने मरे हुए बेटे को लेकर महाराज रामचन्द्र के दुवार पर आता है और वह कहता है कि तुम्हारे राज्य में मेरा लड़का मरा है । फिर आकाशवाणी होती है :

"शम्बूको नाम वृषलः पृथिव्यां तप्यते तपः ।
शीर्षच्छेद्यः स ते राम तं हत्वा जीवय द्विजम् ॥"

श्री रामचन्द्र इतने में वहां पर जाते हैं जहां वह शूद्र शम्बूक तपस्या कर रहा था और अपने हाथ को इस प्रकार कहते हैं :

हे हस्त दक्षिण मृतस्य शिशोर्द्विजस्य
जीवातवे विसृज शूद्रमुनौ कृपाणम्
रामस्य गात्रमसि दुर्वहगर्भखिन्न-
सीताप्रवासनपटो करुणा कुतस्ते ॥

अरे तुम तो वह हो कि तुमने एक सीता को जो गर्भ से झुकी हुई थी निकाला । अरे तुझ में करुणा कहां और वह करुणा का अंश आप में कहां है । समाज और मानवता के नाम पर जब इस देश में उनसे अमानवतापूर्ण व्यवहार किया गया और समाज को अमानवतापूर्ण रूप में कलंकित किया गया और उन्हें सभ्यता और संस्कृति से दूर रक्खा गया लेकिन फिर भी इस देश में ऐसे संत कबीर आदि आये जिन्होंने इस कलंक को समाज से मिटाने का प्रयत्न किया । ब्राह्मण के प्रति मेरी कोई अश्रद्धा नहीं लेकिन ब्राह्मण मेरी राय में वह है जो एक चींटी से लेकर हाथी तक सबको एक समान दृष्टि से देखता है, हम ऐसे ब्राह्मण की कद्र कर सकते हैं लेकिन अगर आज इस देश के अन्दर ऐसे ब्राह्मण हों जो अपने मन में और व्यवहार में प्राणी मात्र में भेदभाव और छुआछूत को बढ़ाते हों, तो वह ब्राह्मण कहलाने के हकदार नहीं हैं ।

आजकल के ब्राह्मण, मैं जानता हूं, कैसे हैं । अभी जब मैं परसों आ रहा था तो एक आदमी ने मुझ से कहा,—वह एक साधारण स्थिति का ब्राह्मण था जो मुझे जानता है—कि वाल्मीकि । क्या जूता सिर पर जा सकता है और क्या सिर की टोपी पैरों में आ सकती है ? मैं अच्छी तरह जानता हूं कि अगर समस्या इसी प्रकार बनी रही तो वह समय आने वाला है और जल्दी ही आने वाला है जब पैर की जूती सिर पर आ

आयेंगी, मेरी जूती नहीं आयेंगी तो किसी और की आयेंगी और अगर और किसी की नहीं आयेंगी तो मेरी आयेंगी और टोपी आप उसे भले ही टोपी समझें लेकिन वह टोपी टोपी नहीं रहेगी और आज जब कि संविधान में अस्पृश्यता एक जुर्म है इस तरह का जिक्र हो और अस्पृश्यता का पूर्ण रूप से निवारण नहीं हो जाता, वह टोपी सिर पर नहीं है वह हमारे भाइयों के पैरों में है । मैं जानता हूं कि उस टोपी की रक्षा होनी चाहिये लेकिन जैसे एक विदेशी आदमी ने कहा कि

> "There is no untouchability. All credit goes to the Father of the nation."

हां, अवश्य हम बापू के आभारी हैं । बावजूद इसके कि अस्पृश्यता के अंश सामाजिक दृष्टि से चारों तरफ मौजूद हैं, स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के फौरन बाद कांग्रेस सरकार ने जो कि महात्मा गांधी के आदर्शों पर चलने वाली है उसने इस अभिशाप को मिटाने के लिये भारी प्रयत्न किये हैं और हम उनके भी आभारी हैं । "कैलाशनाथ" नाम के हमारे मंत्री महोदय हैं और उनके नाम से भगवान् शंकर का स्मरण हो आता है :

> क्रोधं प्रभो संहर संहरीति
> यावद्गिरः खे महता चरन्ति ।
> तावत्स वह्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा
> भस्मावशेषं मदन चकार ॥

और मुझे यहां भी मदन की सी स्थिति प्रतीत होती है कि बाह्य दृष्टि से अस्पृश्यता का नाश हो गया । आज हृदयों के अन्दर, शरीर के अन्दर मुझे अस्पृश्यता का एक अंश प्रतीत होता है । मैं परसों ५ नम्बर की बस में खड़ा हुआ था । उस में एक पंजाबी औरत भी थी जो बहुत पढ़ी हुई थी, बहुत सभ्य थी और बहुत अच्छे कपड़े पहने हुए थी, यह मैं जानता हूं । उस ने अपने बच्चे को जो कि कुछ गंदा होना चाहता था चूहड़ा कह कर पुकारा और भंगी कहा । चमार भी कहा । मैं जानता हूं कि इस तरह के नाम कहां लिये जाते हैं, तो इस का प्रभाव ठीक नहीं होता है । यह सवाल इस तरह का है और इन चीजों को दूर होना चाहिये । मैं जानता हूं कि इस के लिये प्रयत्न करने की जरूरत है, मैं कोई इस बात से चिढ़ता नहीं हूं । मैं इस बात में विश्वास करने वाला हूं कि अगर चूहड़े को भी मौका दिया जाय, जैसे कि दूसरों को दिया जाता है, तो कोई वजह नहीं है कि वह उस कुर्सी पर जा कर न बैठ सके जिस पर कि पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू बैठते हैं ।

यह कहा जाता है कि अगर इस प्रकार के मुट्ठी भर आदमी यहां पर रहते हैं तो यह कानून उन लोगों के लिये है । मैं तो चाहता था कि पेनल कोड में इस तरह की कोई चीज आ जाती । जब तक यह नहीं होगा तब तक इस बिल का कोई लाभ ही नहीं है क्योंकि चारों तरफ इतना छुआछूत फैला हुआ है । यह अंगरेज के वक्त में तो नहीं हो सका, लेकिन अब इस तरह की कोई चीज पेनल कोड में आ जानी चाहिये थी । तब इस बिल की आवश्यकता नहीं थी । लेकिन फिर भी मैं इस बिल का हर तरह से स्वागत करता हूं क्योंकि मैं जानता हूं कि जो इस तरह की अस्पृश्यता हमारे देश में है वह हमारे लिये अच्छी नहीं है ।

मैं कुछ ही बातें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूं क्योंकि मैं धार्मिक बातों में नहीं जाना चाहता । हमारा देश एक सेकुलर स्टेट है और मैं जानता हूं कि धार्मिक दृष्टि से किसी चीज पर हम टीका टिप्पणी करें, यह अच्छा नहीं लगता है । मैं ने एक बात रक्खी जो कि कट्टरता की तरफ इशारा करती है । मैं जानता हूं कि सन् १९३८ में मेरे जो गुरु थे, हरिजन थे और जो संस्कृत और अंगरेजी जानने वाले थे, उन के जनेऊ को बुलन्दशहर में तोड़ा गया । उस में कितने ही सवर्ण साधू शामिल थे । चमार और भंगियों, को आर्य समाज और स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती की कृपा से जनेऊ पहिनने को मिला था । लेकिन वह जनेऊ उन का तोड़ा गया । मैं भारत का वासी हूं, इस देश के अन्दर वेद में विश्वास रखने वाले हैं, जो लोग इंजील में विश्वास करते हैं वह भी हैं । मैं जानता हूं कि मेरे रिश्तेदार ईसाई हैं, मेरे रिश्तेदार मुसलमान हैं, लेकिन मेरा उन से

[श्री वाल्मीकि]

वास्ता हैं, उन से रिश्ता हैं । धर्म परिवर्तन से कोई भी प्रभाव उन के ऊपर नहीं डाला हैं । भंगीपन, चमारपन ज्यों का त्यों उन के साथ बना हुआ हैं और इस लिये इस विधेयक में जो गुंजाइश रक्खी हैं उस के लिये मैं इस का स्वागत करता हूं ।

जहां तक मन्दिर प्रवेश का सम्बन्ध हैं, मैं तो आप के हृदय के मन्दिर में स्थान पाना चाहता हूं जहां कि भगवान का वास हैं । उस 'दूवादश अंगुल' स्थान में जहां वह पूर्ण पुरुष विद्यमान हैं----वह पूर्ण पुरुष---

वेदा हमेतं पुरुषं महान्तमादित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ।

तमेव विदित्वति मृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय मनुर्भव। (मनुष्य बनो)

मा जीवेभ्यः प्रमदः । (जीव के प्रति प्रमाद मत कर)

हम को तो आप के हृदय में स्थान चाहिये न कि पत्थरों के मन्दिर में जहां पत्थर का देवता हैं और वहां भगवान स्वयम् पत्थर बन गया हैं ।

आप हरिजनों की सहिष्णुता को लीजिये । अनेक बातें हो सकती हैं । बनारस में मन्दिर प्रवेश को जब हरिजन आगे चले तो सनातन धर्मी ब्राह्मण जमीन पर लेटे हुए थे उन्हें देख कर हरिजन पीछे हट आते थे । हम जानते हैं कि हम किसी के ऊपर पैर नहीं रक्खेंगे भले ही कोई हमारे ऊपर पैर रक्खे । यह दिन हमेशा नहीं रहेंगे । हम लोग भी आगे बढ़ेंगे लेकिन हम लोगों की स्थिति को सुधारने की आवश्यकता हैं । इस तरह की और भी शिकायतें हैं, पानी पीने की शिकायतें हैं । मैं जानता हूं कि एक हरिजन आजादी से खाना भी नहीं खा सकता । जहां पर और आदमी बैठे हुए हों, उस देहाती समाज में वह बैठ नहीं सकता । इस प्रकार की और भी तमाम दिक्कतें हैं ।

मैं तो यहां तक कहना चाहता हूं कि पढ़े लिखे लोगों में सब से ज्यादा छुआ छूत हैं । इस बात को मैं सिद्ध कर रहा हूं । मैं अपने प्रति कहना चाहता हूं । मैं कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कहता जो कि सुनी सुनाई हो । उत्तरी भारत की एक युनिवर्सिटी के एक प्रोफेसर ने जो अब रजिस्ट्रार हैं अपने भतीजे के मुंह पर कस कर चांटा मारा । उन का भतीजा मेरा गहरा दोस्त था, मेरा जिगरी यार था, एक थाली में रोटी खाने वाला था और वह आज दुनियां में नहीं हैं । मैं जानता हूं कि वह उच्च खान्दान और उच्च घराने का था । तो वह मेरा दोस्त मेरे साथ एक तश्तरी में कलाकन्द खा रहा था । उस के चचा ने उस को मारा और उस तश्तरी को जिस में कि कलाकन्द थी जमीन पर फेंक दिया । उस समय तक मैं स्वयं जूठन खाता था जिसका कि जिक्र कल टण्डन जी ने किया । मेरे सामने मां और बाप न होने की वजह से इतनी गरीबी और मजबूरियां थीं कि मैं ने उस तश्तरी को और उस बिखरी हुई कलाकन्द को उठा लिया और आंखों में आंसू भर कर उस को खाया । वह तश्तरी आज भी मेरे पास हैं । आप अस्पृश्यता की बात करते हैं । मैं जानता हूं कि मेरा गला रुंधता हैं इस मुकाम पर जब मैं इस प्रकार की बात कर रहा हूं ।

मैं जानता हूं कि हरिजनों में भी परिवर्तन हो गया हैं । बावजूद इस के उन गरीबों और मजबूरों को इन्साफ नहीं मिलता हैं । हम इस को बर्दाश्त कर सकते हैं, लेकिन पार्लियामेन्ट का मेम्बर होने के नाते मेरा कर्तव्य हैं कि मैं यह बात आप के सामने रख दूं कि अगर एक चमार, एक भंगी, जिस के घर नहीं हैं, जिस के दर नहीं हैं, जिस के पास कोई पैसा नहीं हैं, अगर वह किसी बिना पर मारा जाता हैं, किसी भी वजह से चाहे छोटी से छोटी वजह हो, तो यह आप के कान्स्टिट्यूशन को चैलेन्ज हैं, आप की हुकूमत को चैलेन्ज हैं । आप की पुलिस तो किसी बात का पता नहीं लगा सकती हैं । सब से बड़ा खतरा इस विधेयक के लिये आप की पुलिस और आप के अधिकारियों की उदासीनता से हैं, उन के निकम्मेपन से हैं । पुलिस के निकम्मेपन और उस की टाल मटोल का सब से बड़ा उदाहरण मेरठ जिले के कलछीना

गाम का हैं । कलछीना के अन्दर सालों से वहां के मुसलमानों और भंगियों के बीच झगड़ा था । और यह अफसरों की जानकारी में था । वहां पर एक २२ साल का भंगी नौजवान जान से मारा गया । लेकिन कानून के अन्दर वहां इन्साफ नहीं मिला । उस को दिन दहाड़े मारा गया लेकिन मुकदमा नहीं चला और कोई इन्क्वायरी नहीं हुई । मैं आज भी इस चीज को महसूस करता हूं कि इतने सारे वहां पर अधिकारी थे, वहां पुलिस वाले थे, लेकिन इस बारे में कुछ नहीं हो सका । यह मिसाल मैं आप के सामने रखता हूं । ऐसी पुलिस की ज्यादतियां हैं पुलिस तो मस्त हस्तिनी है न वह सेन्टर के होम मिनिस्टर के हाथ में है और न वह किसी और के ही हाथ में है । पुलिस के आदमी हम लोगों को गालियां देते हैं, मारते हैं । गुड़गांव जिले के गाम चांट और बुलन्दशहर के जहांगीराबाद में पुलिस ने वहां के भंगियों को बुरी तरह से मारा । मैं पुलिस का विरोध नहीं करता लेकिन अब हम इन ज्यादतियों को बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकते ।

हरिजन जो सदियों के शरणार्थी हैं उन के लिये काफी कोशिश करने की आवश्यकता है । उन की आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक होनी चाहिये, उन के लिये भूमि दान करने की आवश्यकता है । व्यापार आदि के लिये धन की सहायता करनी चाहिये । उन के काम के लिये कोई प्रबन्ध जब तक नहीं किया जायेगा तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा । एक नौजवान अपनी हालत बयान कर रहा था । मुझे पिताजी कह कर पुकारता था । वह कहता था कि ८५० रुपये मेरे बाप पर दो भैंसे खरीदने का कर्ज है, २५० रु० मेरी पढ़ाई का कर्ज है । वह १२, १४ साल का बच्चा, उस का बाप बीमारी से बेचैन है और उस के कर्जे की यह सूरत ? मैं कोई बिड़ला होता तो अपनी सारी दौलत उसके लिए बिखेर देता । और उस को बचाने की कोशिश करता । इसी तरह से जमीन का भी सवाल है । सब चीजें बड़े पैमाने पर उठाने की जरूरत है । कहीं कहीं पर हरिजनों को भूमिदान में जमीन के पट्टे मिले हैं पर उन्हें सवर्ण जाति के लोग खेती नहीं करने देते । उन को जमीन का अधिकार दिलाने की आवश्यकता है ।

कल टंडन जी ने हमारे घरों की बात कही थी कि हमारे घरों की व्यवस्था बहुत गन्दी है । हरिजन आज भी स्लम कंडिशन में रहते हैं । सन् १९४२ में जब मैं जेल में था तो मैं ने श्री ई० डी० साइमन की "हाउ टु एबालिश स्लम्स" नाम की पुस्तक पढ़ी थी । उस ने स्लम्स की परिभाषा यह दी है :

> "Slum is a filthy populated neighbourhood where the houses and conditions of life are of a squalid and wretched character."

उस ने slum conditions को दूर करने की तीन बातें कही हैं :

> "1. To build cheaper houses.
> 2. To reduce charges of rates.
> 3. To give children allowance."

गांधी जी के शब्दों में भंगी 'समाज की मां' है । समाज की सब से नीची सीढ़ी पर तो भंगी खड़ा है । मैं ने देश में सब जगह जा कर देखा है । बिहार में जा कर देखा । वहां भोला रावत जी मौजूद हैं, मैं ने वहां पर जा कर कहा था कि मेहतर और डोमों की अवस्था कितनी भयंकर है । पटना कार्पोरेशन उधर ध्यान नहीं देता । सब से अधिक पिछड़ापन आज भंगियों में है ।

इन भंगियों का इस बिल से कोई फायदा नहीं होगा, जब तक आप उन को नीचे से ऊपर नहीं उठाते । आज अछूतपन का सारा बोझ भंगियों पर है । The whole burden of untouchablitiy lies on the head of the sweeper इस सारे बोझ को उठाने के लिये इस तरह कोई बात कारगर नहीं हो सकती है । मेरे मस्तिष्क में बहुत सी बातें हैं लेकिन सब को कहने का समय नहीं है । मैं ने एक बार कहा था कि, डोमों और भंगियों । अगर इस देश में किसी को बगावत करने का अधिकार

[श्री वाल्मीकि]

हैं तो इस देश के भंगियों और डोमों को हैं क्योंकि वे नारकीय जीवन से तंग आ गये हैं। मैं यह चाहता हूं कि हमारे देश में यह लोग सब से आगे रहें और मैं आवाज उठाऊंगा। मैं देश के कोने कोने में जाता हूं और उन को जानता हूं। मैं कहता हूं :

"नहिं विद्या, नहिं बाहुबल, नहीं गांठ में दाम
ऐसे पतित पतंग की तुम पत राखौ राम।।",

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते।
अभयं सर्व भूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम॥

(वाल्मीकि रामायण)

आज हमारी बस्ती में कहीं पर राम और कृष्ण का नाम नहीं हैं, आज केवल जय वाल्मीकि ही सब जगह दिखलाई पड़ती हैं। चाहे वह पहले के वाल्मीकि की हो या आज कल के वाल्मीकि की हो। मैं जानता हूं कि दोनों वाल्मीकि की जय होगी। मैं हरिजनों का झंडा लेकर आगे बढ़ूंगा। या तो हुकूमत इन समाज में सबसे नीचे वालों को उठाये नहीं तो यह काम हमको करना होगा। मैं जानता हूं कि यह काम किस तरह से चल रहा हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि यदि भंगी के उठाने के लिए प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया तो समाज का सारा ढांचा हिल जायगा। मैं बतलाना चाहता हूं कि आज भंगियों का वर्ल्ड फेडरेशन हैं। मैं उस संस्था से सम्बन्ध रखता हूं। आज हमको अमरीका और इंगलैंड और अफ्रीका से निमंत्रण आते हैं। वहां हमारे लोग मौजूद हैं। हमारे एक भाई जो ईसाई हो गये हैं वह इंगलैंड में हैं। उन्होंने एक किताब लिखी हैं। यहां की लाइब्रेरी में वह किताब हैं। वह बिजनौर जिले के रहने वाले हैं। उन्होंने उस किताब में बताया हैं कि उनको क्यों ईसाई होना पड़ा।

कल टंडन जी ने भंगी की बात कही। मैं उनके शब्दों का बहुत आभारी हूं। उनका हृदय दूध की तरह से, गंगा की तरह से और शरदपूर्णिमा की तरह से, जो कि वाल्मीकि जी का जन्म दिन हैं, पवित्र हैं और निर्मल हैं। उन्होंने जो कहा ठीक हैं। वह भंगियों को ऊंचा उठा देखना चाहते हैं। लेकिन पेशा छोड़ने के हमारे रास्ते में क्या क्या रुकावटें हैं। इसेंशियल सरविसेज आर्डिनेन्स और किसी के लिए नहीं हैं सिर्फ भंगियों के लिए हैं। वह सिर्फ भंगियों को दबाने के लिए सबसे बड़ा इंस्ट्रूमेंट हैं। मैं जानता हूं कि अंग्रेजी राज्य में जो जुल्म नहीं हुआ वह आज हो रहा हैं। मैं और शहरों की नहीं कहता, मैं खास इसी दिल्ली के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं कि पिछली मेहतर हड़ताल में हमारी लड़कियों को, माओं को, बहिनों को जबरदस्ती काम पर लगाया गया और उनके ऊपर पुलिस ने ज्यादतियां कीं। इसके लिए मैं ने लिखा भी था। हमको जबरदस्ती इस गन्दे काम पर लगाया जाता हैं। उस समय हमारी आत्मा काम नहीं करती हैं बल्कि हम मशीन की तरह बगैर आत्मा के काम करते हैं। उपनिषद में लिखा हैं।

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मन्येवानुपश्यति,
सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते।

(ईशोपनिषद्)

"If one sees all living things as if they were in his own body, i.e., feels their joys and sorrows as his own, and sees the same Universal Spirit in all things, then there is no need for protecting oneself against others."

पता नहीं परमात्मा भी हमारे लिए सो गया हैं। जो बाहर परमात्मा के जीव हैं वे हमारी मदद नहीं करते। मैं ने सारे देश में भंगियों की अवस्था को देखा हैं। मैं कह सकता हूं कि जब तक भंगी का उत्थान नहीं होता तब तक देश का उत्थान नहीं होता क्योंकि भंगी तो डबल छुआछूत के नीचे हैं। वह अछूतों की छुआछूत के नीचे हैं और दूसरों की छुआछूत के नीचे हैं और जो धार्मिक अन्धता हैं उसके भी नीचे हैं। इस तरह से भंगी इतना नीचे पड़ा हैं। हमको तो आपके स्वराज्य का कोई लाभ नहीं मालूम पड़ता। इतना जरूर हैं कि जरा गरदन निकाल लेते हैं, इससे ज्यादा और कुछ नहीं

हैं । हम होम मिनिस्टर साहब के काम से समझते हैं कि उनकी कृपा से यह काम आगे बढ़ेगा । जो हमारे scheduled castes कमिश्नर हैं उनका हृदय भी भंगियों के लिए कुछ करने को बिलबिलाता है । लेकिन आप देखिये कि म्युनिसिपैलिटियों के भंगियों के लिए क्या कानून बने हुए हैं । उनकी कितनी दुर्दशा है । बम्बई की सरकार ने उनकी हालत को सुधारने के लिए जो रिपोर्ट बनायी है उसे ही लागू कर दीजिए । इन बाधाओं को दूर करने के लिए यह ९४ धाराओं का बिल कोई लाभदायक नहीं होगा । मैं कहता हूं कि इसको साथ मालूम करने के लिए बाहर भेजने की जरूरत नहीं । मैं तो इसको सिलेक्ट कमेटी के सुपुर्द करने के भी पक्ष में नहीं हूं । लेकिन अगर इसको सिलेक्ट कमेटी के पास भेजा जाता है तो इसकी रिपोर्ट एक हफ्ते के अन्दर आनी चाहिए और इसको जल्दी से जल्दी पास कर देना चाहिए ।

सभापति जी, इन शब्दों के साथ में आपका और अपने देशवासियों का ध्यान भंगियों की तरफ और अछूतों की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं । मैं चाहता हूं कि इस छुआछूत का जल्दी से जल्दी नाश हो ।

Dr. Krishnaswami (Kancheepuram): Mr. Chairman, we have listened to a very powerful and moving speech depicting the grievances, the wrongs and the aspirations of the untouchables. I should like, at the outset, to make this observation that untouchability is a symptom of a graver malady which it is not possible to control by a merely remedial legislation of a retail type. The whole of our caste system is nothing else but a garbled form of untouchability as Swami Vivekananda once put it, and I have always felt that unless we are able to deal with this problem in a fundamental manner, it would not be possible to find any lasting solution for this problem. Unfortunately, this piece of legislation does not propose to deal with the malady and I do not think it wise on the part of those who are interested in the welfare of the untouchables to underestimate its importance. This piece of legislation, as I understand it, is meant to control over-prejudice, to see that there is equalisation of advantages and to minimise discrimination as far as possible.

The Home Minister in the course of his opening speech pointed out, with a great deal of force, that a law on the books is different from a law in action. I entirely agree with him that it is so. But, at the same time, I should like to answer the fundamental question which he raised and to which he did not give a sufficiently effective answer. Can a penal law have any value in promoting the growth of better relations among different communities? The Home Minister, in my judgment, took an unnecessary pessimistic view of the force of law and pointed out in so many words that it would not be possible for us really to have any improvement in group relations as it were unless there were other things which were really taken into account. Not one of us who has given support to this measure has ever for a moment pointed out that we should rely purely on a penal law for promoting better group relations. We have suggested, times without number, that it is no use merely relying on penal laws and that we have to rely on several supplementary measures for bringing up the status of this most unfortunate section of the community. Unless these supplementary measures are enforced with real mind and purpose it would not be possible to have anything like a sufficient progress. I agree with the Home Minister that in other countries where similar enactments were passed, the force of social opinion has tended to lag behind constitutional opinion and many enactments have been a 'dead letter'. We have, for instance, the well-known edicts which were passed in the nineteenth century in the United States of America tending to promote what they call 'social equality' between the Negroes and the Whites. But, they

[Dr. Krishnaswami]

were generally 'dead letters' and there was very little done about it even by the courts of law; because, after all, let us remember, that courts of law are also governed by the inarticulate principles of the force of social opinion which they cannot afford to ignore. I think one of the most outstanding judges of the Supreme Court in the nineteenth century pointed out that legislation was powerless to control racial instincts. Another social philospher pointed out that 'state-ways' cannot change 'folk-ways' at all and we had to reconcile ourselves to the growth of prejudice. I am one of those, however, who hold the view that it is possible to change 'folk-ways' for the very simple and excellent reason that there are ways and means of promoting a new legal norm in our society which tends to be respected by different sections of our society. What has been done by custom can be altered by statute and it is necessary on this occasion, especially when we are passing the Untouchability (Offences) Bill to remind ourselves that even laws which are passed with a penal purpose have a definite function to fulfil in our society. Remember, after all, that this legislation seeks to control expression of overt prejudice. People might say that the prejudiced ideas in our society may not alter by the passing of a law, but that is not the most important point. What is necessary to eradicate prejudice is the growth of a healthy and sound public opinion in our society. But, at the same time, if overt prejudice is controlled, if discrimination is not practised, if it is possible to feel that there is a salutary check on the expression of overt prejudice, in the long run there will be a salutary change in public opinion and that itself would be most effective. My hon. friend the Home Minister, however, seems to think that enforcement agencies are not very effective in promoting the growth of healthy public opinion. My friend the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has also pointed out that on many occasions enforcement agencies have been weak. We all know that in the matter of enforcement of social relations, there has been a certain amount of weakness displayed by enforcement agencies. Enforcement agencies, after all, regard many of these infractions as unimportant and that is partly one of the reasons why there will have to be a stricter enforcement. There is also a prejudice of the social system which is strong enough to restrain them from taking action, and that is more important, namely, the very idea of fear which works in the minds of the people discriminated against and who do not complain. These are formidable factors which militate against the working of the law very effectively, but at the same time, it would be wrong on the part of the Home Minister to think that these objections are of such an insuperable character that they cannot be surmounted. My hon. friend, Mr. Asoka Mehta, who preceded me, pointed out that the scheduled caste members in this House were an ornament to this House. They lend distinction to our Parliament but their presence here has an obvious social purpose which we cannot afford to ignore. One of the direct advantages of an association of Scheduled Caste Members with us here is that the conscience of this House has been awakened and we are forced to take more active interest in social problems. Those of us who had the opportunity and privilege of listening to the very eloquent speech which was just delivered by my hon. friend, Mr. Balmiki, would corroborate me in suggesting that speeches of this type tend to quicken the social conscience even of some of us who might not have the same perspective of social problems which the Scheduled Castes have. After all, surely the toad under the harrow knows where the tooth-pick pricks, and in the case of the Scheduled Castes, whenever they express their views rather strongly and militantly against certain aspects of the social system, we have to make a great deal of allowance for the wrongs that they

have experienced. I suggest that the Enforcement agencies should operate in a more effective manner in our society in future, particularly because we have assured full equality to our Scheduled Castes and because we have given reservation to them in very many of our legislatures. Undoubtedly, the penal part of our laws would certainly not act as effectively as other measures that should be taken, but we have to remember that in our society, penal laws have a very effective part to play and they have their effect in moulding public opinion in different regions. It is certainly true to say that this, by itself, is not enough, but it is not the contention of those of us who are supporting this measure, that this is only measure that should be passed by this House. We envisage other supplementary measures. I remember that the predecessor of the present Home Minister on one occasion pointed out—and it was unfortunate that he should have given expression to this view—that he did not believe in giving jobs to certain communities and expecting that as a result of jobs being given to those communities, the lot of the communities would improve. I am one of those who holds the view that in a welfare State, some of the jobs which are occupied by members of the Scheduled Castes and backward communities will have an indirect influence in moulding public opinion in different sectors of our society.

Shri Velayudhan: But it will not be given.

Dr. Krishnaswami: If it is not given, it is for some of us to really agitate along with you, but I am only pointing out that there are other ways of building up this public opinion which has to be taken into account. I should rather say that when we are dealing with civil laws, we are not to consider them in isolation from other employment and educational opportunities which ought to be given to the Scheduled Castes. My hon. friend, Mr. Asoka Mehta, referred to the fact that we have not taken sufficient interest in Harijan welfare. I am inclined to agree with him in this matter, and I shall make my contention rather brief. I shall not refer to the land army and other important matters to which he referred, but I shall refer to a comparatively simple matter which has not had that amount of attention which it should have had from many sections of public opinion in our country. There are in very many States, as you are aware, the Harijan Welfare Fund. We have devoted a little over Rs. 1 crore or Rs. 1½ crores for the purpose of ameliorating the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and other Harijans. What has struck me as very odd—and it is a matter of shame which I have brought several times before the people who are in charge of these Funds—is that these funds should have been bureaucratised, that they should be administered only, if I may use that word without casting any aspersion on the men who are in charge of the Harijan Welfare Fund, by a coterie of people as it were and should be doled out in terms of condescension to the various Scheduled Castes. I have always felt that if the Harijan Welfare Fund is to be properly administered, it should be administered through statutory agencies like municipalities or district boards, where there would be a chance of frequent discussion and where there would be a chance of the Scheduled Caste representatives and others coming forward and putting their points of view and thus helping to create 'a new folk-way', a new type of mind making people feel conscious of the advantages that they enjoy in the new State.

These are some of the matters on which we should certainly think, and think afresh, because it is time that we realise that these problems cannot be resolved in isolation.

I have also to place before the House my feelings regarding some of the social welfare agencies which have taken up the task of Harijan welfare and amelioration. I am not for a

[Dr. Krishnaswami]

moment under-estimating their importance and I am not suggesting that they have not performed any service to Harijans and Scheduled Castes, but I should like to remind them that, in many instances, social welfare agencies have been more anxious to be in the lime-light rather than to serve the community to which they have dedicated themselves to serve. After all, in these matters, let us remind ourselves of the motto, which imbued the benedictine friars when they ventured into the field of social service, and the first essential for a social welfare organisation, be it Government-inspired or non-official inspired, is that it should be anonymous in its outlook and should not dole out charities in a spirit of condescension. It is better that there is no charity at all if it is to be doled out in a spirit of condescension or that we should have our photographs frequently published in newspapers and other magazines for the sake of advertising our services to these people.

There is one small matter to which I should like to make a brief reference, and which, I hope, the massive Members of the Select Committee will take note of. I find that in the penal legislation there is a gap and I wonder why the Home Minister missed it. I think there was no excuse for his missing it, especially as the Scheduled Castes Commissioner has frequently invited our attention to it. In all these matters which involve betterment of social relations, it is necessary to have enforcement agencies which investigate complaints, negotiate informally with the offender, educate him in the meaning of the law and then only punish him ultimately. In this enactment, as it has been placed before the House, there is no provision made for the *via media* procedure which would certainly helps to create a sort of public opinion. After all, when you are trying to control overt prejudice, as has been pointed out by many sociologists, it is extremely difficult to convert it merely by using a penal measure. There ought to be an intermediate step taken before the final step is taken, and a certain amount of publicity should be given to these methods of discrimination. Possibly in the case of 99 out of 100 people who practise discrimination, the very fear or the threat of publicity being given to their doings might make them desist from doing these things. It is only in one or two per cent. of the cases that it will be necessary to exercise the law. I, therefore, think that the Select Committee would be well advised to consider some of the matters which I have placed before the House, and I hope and trust, though I am not sure like my hon. friend, Mr. Deshpande, that we would be in a position soon to think of untouchability as a thing of the past. I cannot, however, share the optimism of my friend that within the next three or four years untouchability would be a thing of the past. It is not so simple a problem, and if it were such a simple problem, possibly we would not have had any necessity for introducing the legislation that we are introducing here today, but I am certain that this is a small step and a right step in the direction of trying to do some social justice to millions of our country-men to whom we should have done justice long ago. It is better to do justice now than to delay it altogether.

Shri Elayaperumal (Cuddalore—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Mr. Chairman, I am very grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to take part in the debate on this Bill. I congratulate our Home Minister for bringing forward this measure before this House in this session, but, on the other hand, I regret to say that I am ungrateful to him because this Bill is very vague.

Sir, there are so many Bills passed by several State Governments from the year 1938 to 1949, on this subject. Inspite of all these, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes has pointed out how the untouchables are still being treated by the caste Hindus. First of all we must know who are the un-

touchables. The Scheduled Caste people are forced to remove dead cattle from the caste Hindu houses or to beat nasty drums for their death ceremony, but not for marriage functions or to dig burial pits in burial ground. If they refuse to do that work, they will be punished by the caste Hindu people. The Bill under discussion does not make any provision in this respect. Without such a provision, how are Government going to eradicate untouchability from our midst?

Sir, in some villages in Madras the Harijans are not allowed to wear shoes; in some villages they are not allowed to wear sleeved shirts; in some others they are not allowed even to go through the streets. On the 14th July of this year when a Harijan school boy took water for drinking from the Panchayat Board well in Mekerimangalam village in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjore District he was tied by caste Hindu people with rope and beaten. They reported the matter to the Sub-Inspector and District Superintendent of Tanjore District, but no action was taken by them. Sir, it is no use making laws, unless we have the determination to enforce them. In Thekkinuppu village in Cuddalore District Harijans are not allowed to wear shoes. At page 42 of his Report the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes points out that in some villages in Tanjore District Harijans are not allowed to approach the post office and a letter box has been hung at the street corner for their use: the matter has already been taken up by the Collector in the Tanjore District. But no action has been taken till now. The Commissioner has been pointing out this disability of the Harijans repeatedly in his annual reports, but no action has been taken by the authorities. I request the hon. Home Minister to appoint some boards consisting of officials and non-officials to handle the welfare work. These boards should be clothed with adequate powers to enforce the Acts: if the board has any complaints against the people or officers, immediate action must be taken by Government. In each district there should be a board of which the Police Superintendent must be the Chairman. Fifty per cent. of the membership of the board must be reserved for Harijans: the other half may consist of 25 per cent. non-Harijans and 25 per cent. officials. Only by this means can we eradicate the scourge of untouchability from this land.

Lastly, Sir, I want to point out some instances from my constituency in Chidambaram taluk. In the villages of Karungudi, Kullappoodi and Kundamangalam there are backward class people. Nowadays Brahmins are better than backward classes; they treat the Harijans worse than the Brahmins. So, I request the Backward Class Commission that wherever they go they must advise the pepole to treat the Harijans in a polite manner.

In the end, I would request Government to set apart a sum of Rs. 300 crores per year to ameliorate the condition of the backward classes, to build dwelling houses, wells, etc., for them. In this manner only can you ameliorate the lot of these unfortunate people.

श्री मंघ लाल शर्मा :

नमोऽस्तु रामाय सलक्ष्मणाय देव्यै च तस्यै जनकात्मजायै ।

नमोऽस्तु रुद्रेन्द्रयमानिलेभ्यो नमोऽस्तु चन्द्रार्कमरुद्गणेभ्यः ॥

माननीय सभापति महोदय, मैं आप को हार्दिक बधाई देता हूं कि आप ने अन्त में मुझे समय दे ही दिया ।

बात यह है कि मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय का और सदन का ध्यान इस लिये आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि आपने यह विधेयक उपस्थित करते समय कहा था कि यह कोआर्डिनेटिंग मेजर है और इस से किसी को दंड होने वाला है । अधिकतर मैं यह सुन रहा हूं और हमारे बन्धु देशपांडे जी ने, कांग्रेसी देशपांडे ने, अपने देशपांडे जी एक और मेम्बर हैं, उन्होंने खड़े हो

[श्री नंद लाल शर्मा]

कर स्वामी करपात्री जी और राम राज्य परिषद के नाम से गाली देना आरम्भ किया। और रावण राज्य कह कर सब को पुकारा। मैं और तो कुछ समझता नहीं, आध्यात्म रामायण में अहंकार का नाम रावण लिखा है। यदि इस कसौटी पर इसे कस दिया जाय तो वह महानुभाव स्वयम् अनुभव करेंगे कि कौन राम हैं और कौन रावण हैं।

अब मैं कास्ट हिन्दूज, सवर्ण और असवर्ण हिन्दुओं की स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहूं। हमारे बन्धु गृह मंत्री महोदय और देशपांडे जी तथा हमारे बहुत से बन्धु हैं उनमें अधिकतर कास्ट हिन्दू भाई हैं जिन्होंने स्वयम् इस अस्पृश्यता के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाई है। एतावता कास्ट हिन्दू को भी गाली देना उचित नहीं होगा। मैं भी कास्ट हिन्दुओं की ओर से हूं और कास्ट हिन्दू ही नहीं बल्कि धर्मशास्त्रों में विश्वास रखने वाला कास्ट हिन्दू हूं और मुझे इस बात का कोई दुःख भी नहीं है। यद्यपि अपने आप को आफेन्डर कहने वाले डा० काटजू और दूसरे लोग अपने प्रायश्चितों के सम्बन्ध में कहने वाले हैं, मैं स्वयम् इस बात को स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूं कि अस्पृश्यता शब्द का अर्थ ही वह नहीं है जो आज आप लोग लगा रहे हैं। अस्पृश्य जाति का नाम, मैं ने पहले भी कहा है, हमारे शास्त्रों में कहीं नहीं है। अगर शूद्र नारायण के उस विराट स्वरूप में चरणों से उत्पन्न हुआ है तो वह वही चरण हैं जिन्हें ब्राह्मण शिर झुकाता है। ब्राह्मण भगवान के चरणों में शिर झुकाते हैं। भगवान की मूर्ति के शिर या मुख को प्रणाम नहीं करते। इस लिये यह कहना गलत है कि शूद्र के साथ धर्म के नाम पर अन्याय कर दिया। मैं वाल्मीकि जी की यह बात स्वीकार करता हूं कि धर्मान्ध पुरुष यदि धर्म के नाम से अन्याय कर सकता है, यदि धर्म के नाम से किसी व्यक्ति के साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया जाय, उस का अपमान किया जाय तो यह धर्म के नाम पर कलन्क है। पहले स्वयम् श्री वाल्मीकी को उन का यह नाम दिया गया। किसी कांग्रेस ने नहीं दिया, किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी ने नहीं दिया। अगर उस समय वाल्मीकि न होते तो आज वाल्मीकि शब्द संसार में सुनाई न देता। आज से पांच हजार वर्ष पहले पाण्डवों का राजसूय यज्ञ हुआ। उस समय पांडवों के यज्ञ में एक न्योला लोटने लगा। उस का आधा शरीर सोने का हो गया और आधा साधारण रहा। उस ने कहा कि मैं ने सुना युधिष्ठिर का परम पवित्र यज्ञ है, यह यज्ञ क्यों ठीक नहीं हुआ। तो भगवान कृष्ण ने कहा कि तुम्हारे पास वाल्मीकि रहते हैं और वह इस यज्ञ में नहीं आये हैं, इसी कारण यह यज्ञ पूरा नहीं हुआ। वाल्मीकि को लाया गया, उनका पूजन किया गया और तब उसका सारा शरीर सोने का हो गया। यह महाभारत में आर्थोडाक्स सिस्टम का वर्णन आता है, यह आज के पोलीटिकल सिस्टम का वर्णन नहीं है। यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि इस चीज को हमारे हरिजन भाइयों ने और दूसरे भाइयों ने राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से देखा है और उन ईसाइयों या यूरोपियनों के दृष्टिकोण से देखा है जिनके द्वारा यहां डिवाइड एंड रूल की नीति बरती गयी थी। उन्होंने ही दक्षिण में ब्राह्मण और अब्राह्मण का प्रश्न खड़ा किया। आज लोग शास्त्र के तत्वों को नहीं समझ रहे हैं। मैं उत्तर भारत का रहने वाला हूं और मुझे ठीक पता नहीं है कि दक्षिण में क्या अवस्था है। लेकिन इतना मैं कह सकता हूं कि शास्त्र में स्पृश्यास्पृश्य का अर्थ किसी जाति-विशेष के लिए नहीं है। मेरा अपना पुत्र जब मैं पूजा करता होता हूं तो मुझ को नहीं छू सकता। मास के कुछ दिनों में मैं अपनी माता को, बहिन को या स्त्री तक को नहीं छू सकता। अगर मैं अपने शरीर के किसी अंग को हाथ लगाता हूं तो हाथ को धोता हूं। स्पर्श का यह मतलब नहीं है मैं अपने घरवालों को निकाल दूं या अपने अंग को काट कर फेंक दूं। अपने को पवित्र रखने की दृष्टि से ब्राह्मण माघमास की रात्री में भी स्नान करता है। यह वह किसी को दंड देने के लिए नहीं करता। यह वह अपने को शुद्ध रखने के लिए करता है चाहे इसके करने में उसको निमोनिया ही क्यों न हो जाय। वह

एक अशुद्धि का प्रायश्चित करता हैं। प्रायश्चित का अर्थ हैं पाप शुद्धि। इस प्रकार से पशु और पक्षियों के अन्दर भी अस्पृश्यता दंखने में आती हैं। केवल किसी को अपमानित करने के लिए सोशल या राजनीतिक अस्पृश्यता नहीं मानी जाती हैं। हम यह नहीं कहते कि हम दूध के धोये हैं और हमने कोई भूलें की ही नहीं। अगर एंसा होता तो आज इस प्रकार से हमको खुल्लमखुल्ला गालियां न मिलतीं। किन्तु मुझे आपसे कहना हैं कि सदना कसाई को इतना ऊंचा किसने बनाया था। वह हमने ही बनाया था।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह (जिला बनारस—मध्य) : सारे हिन्दुस्तान ने बनाया था।

श्री मंत्र लाल शर्मा : मैं यह नहीं कहता कि मैं ने व्यक्तिगत रूप से उसे बनाया था। परन्तु मेरा कहने का अर्थ यह हैं कि उसको आर्थोडाक्स कहलाने वालों ने इतना ऊंचा बनाया था। तो हमने सदना को यह स्थान दिया। हमने कबीर का इसलिए अपमान नहीं किया कि वह जुलाहा हैं और ब्राह्मण भी उनका गुण गाते हैं। और तो क्या हमने मुसलमानों को भी उचित आदर दिया। रसखानि और रहीम खानखाना को हमने ही इतना बड़ा बनाया और आज इस स्थान पर पहुंचा दिया हैं कि लोग उनके नाम पर सिर झुकाते हैं। यहां तक कि उनके लिए भारतेन्दु हरिश्चन्द्र ने लिखा हैं कि एंसे मुसलमान पर लाखों हिन्दू वारिये। हम उनके ऊपर लाखों हिन्दूओं का बलिदान करने को तैयार हैं। आध्यात्मिकता किसी की जागीर नहीं हैं। केवल बात यह हैं कि इसके नाम से धर्म द्वेषी लोग हम पर आरोप लगाते हैं और हमारे धर्म की मान्यताओं को गलत बताते हैं यह उचित नहीं हैं। अभी वाल्मीकि जी ने कहा कि लोग समझते हैं कि मन्दिरों में देवता नहीं हैं केवल पत्थर हैं और मन्दिरों में कोई तत्व नहीं हैं। कुछ लोग हमारे मन्दिर को न मानते हुए भी उसको तोड़ना चाहते हैं यह उचित नहीं हैं। आपको चाहिए कि आप मन्दिर के सिद्धान्त को देखें कि एक मूर्ति बनाने वाले की दुकान पर रखी मूर्ति में और मन्दिर की मूर्ति में कोई भेद हैं या नहीं। आंख से देखने में नहीं मालूम होता। वहां भी पत्थर की मूर्ति हैं और वहां भी पत्थर की मूर्ति हैं। अगर शास्त्र का पक्ष हटा दिया जाय तो मैं समझता हूं कि मन्दिर की मूर्ति में और स्कल्पटर की दुकान पर रखी मूर्ति में कोई भेद नहीं रह जायगा। यह कह देना कि मन्दिर पब्लिक प्रापर्टी हैं यह ला के ट्रीरस प्रूडेन्स के सिद्धान्त के विरुद्ध हैं। मन्दिर सुप्रा पब्लिक प्रापर्टी हैं। वह देवता की प्रापर्टी हैं और उसी के सिद्धान्त के अनुसार उसका नियम पालन करना चाहिए। कितने ही एंसे मन्दिर हैं जिनमें मैं स्वयं ब्राह्मण होते हुए भी नहीं जा सकता। वहां पुजारी के अतिरिक्त कोई दूसरा पूजन नहीं कर सकता। एतावता यह कह देना कि सब कोई वहां जाकर पूजन करें यह मन्दिर के सिद्धान्त के विरुद्ध हैं। अब इसी तरह से आर्य समाज का मन्दिर हैं। वहां के कुछ नियम हैं। अगर मैं वहां जाकर शिव लिंग स्थापित करूं और उसकी पूजा करने लगूं तो वह नियम विरुद्ध होगा। और मुझको एंसा नहीं करने दिया जायगा। इसी प्रकार एक मस्जिद पब्लिक प्रापर्टी हैं। लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ नहीं हैं कि मैं वहां जाकर भगवान कृष्ण की मूर्ति स्थापित कर दूं और घंटा बजाने लगूं। मुझे कोई इस तरह से पूजन नहीं करने देगा। कारण जिस नियम के अन्तर्गत मस्जिद स्थापित की गयी हैं यह उसके विपरीत हैं। हमें आर्य समाज के मन्दिर में आर्य समाज के नियमों का पालन करना होगा। इसी प्रकार से जिन नियमों के अन्तर्गत मन्दिर स्थापित किये गये हैं उन नियमों को इन मन्दिरों में पालन करना चाहिए। मुझे तो एंसा देखने में आया हैं कि आज हरिजनों में बहुत से एंसे लोग भी शामिल हैं जो कि अछूत नहीं हैं। हमारे भाई राजभोज जी ने उस दिन हरिजन शब्द पर विरोध किया था। मुझे भी यह शब्द बहुत पसन्द नहीं हैं। उनके लिए सरकार ने शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट शब्द लाकर रखा हैं। आज शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट की संख्या बढ़ाने के लिए इनमें एंसे लोगों को भी शामिल कर लिया गया हैं जो अछूत नहीं हैं। हमने

[श्री नंद लाल शर्मा]

एक डिग्री कालिज खोला हुआ था । उसमें एक लड़के ने अपने को शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट लिखाया । मैं ने उससे पूछा कि तुम्हारी क्या कास्ट हैं तो उसने कहा कि मैं भड़भूंजा हूं । मैं ने कहा कि तुम तो अस्पृश्य नहीं हो अपने को क्यों शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट लिखाया हैं । उसने कहा कि ऐसा करने से मुझ को स्कालरशिप मिलता हैं और मुझे नौकरी भी जल्दी मिल जायगी और मैं उन्नति कर सकता हूं । इसके बाहर रहने से और आप लोगों के साथ रहने से मुझे क्या मिलेगा । मैं समझता हूं कि इन लोगों के लिए अस्पृश्य या अनटचेबिल शब्द ठीक नहीं हैं । वह हिन्दू जाति के हैं और इसलिए उनका नाम उसी के अनुसार रखा जाय । हरिजन शब्द आधुनिक काल में रखा गया । लेकिन हमारे यहां एक शब्द हैं अन्त्यज । अन्त्यज का अर्थ लास्ट बोर्न (last born).

Shri B. S. Murthy (Eluru): We refuse to believe that. We were the **first born. You were born afterwards.** You came later.

श्री नंद लाल शर्मा : अग्रज का अर्थ होता हैं जो पहले पैदा हो । एक कुटुम्ब में भी जो पहले पैदा होता हैं उसको बड़ा भाई या अग्रज कहते हैं और छोटा भाई अन्त्यज कहलाता हैं । यह इतिहास की भूल हैं कि जो यहां के पहले से रहने वाले बताये जाते हैं उनको अन्त्यज कहा हैं । मैं यह स्वीकार करने को तैयार नहीं हूं कि हम लोग अर्थात हिन्दू कहीं बाहर से आये थे । हमारा इतिहास इसको स्वीकार नहीं करता । जिस प्रकार गोरी जातियों ने अफ्रीका में और अमरीका में जाकर नीग्रोज और रैड इंडियन्स को जीत लिया और वहां के लोगों को पद दलित कर दिया यह बात भारत के अन्दर नहीं हुई । इसलिए मैं समझता हूं कि हमें शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट या हरिजन के स्थान पर अन्त्यज शब्द को काम में लाना चाहिए ।

मैं समझता हूं कि हमारे गृह मंत्री का उद्देश्य इन अन्त्यज या अस्पृश्य कहलाने वाली जातियों के स्तर को उठाना हैं । इसमें मैं उनके साथ सोलहों आने सहमत हूं । लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि इस बिल के द्वारा वे सारी बातें होने वाली नहीं हैं । इससे भले ही वर्ग विद्वेष पैदा हो जाय परन्तु और कोई लाभ नहीं हो सकता । जिन लोगों को आप कोअर्स करने वाले हैं जब तक आप उनको ठीक से नहीं समझायेंगे तब तक आप अस्पृश्यता को नहीं हटा सकेंगे । यहां पर जो शास्त्र के मानने वालों के लिए शब्द कहे गये हैं उनको रामराज्य परिषद का सदस्य क्या और भी कोई व्यक्ति स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता । शास्त्र के मानने वालों को साम्प्रदायिक कहना उचित नहीं हैं । हम लोग कभी किसी को अपमानित नहीं करना चाहते । जो सर्प तक को या कीड़े तक को अपमानित नहीं करता वह किसी मनुष्य को किस तरह से अपमानित कर सकता हैं ? राजा बलि और विष्णु दास की कथा पुराण में प्रसिद्ध हैं । विष्णु दास के घर में एक भंगी ने अन्न की चोरी की । वह १२ दिन तक अन्न उठाता रहा और विष्णु दास १२ दिन तक भूखा रहा । बारहवें दिन उसने छिप कर देखा । उसने उसको चोरी करते देखकर कहा भाई इस अन्न को इस प्रकार न ले जा मैं ने इसको अभी घी नहीं लगाया हैं । वह बेचारा अन्त्यज डर के मारे गिर गया । ब्राह्मण ने दौड़ कर उसको अपनी गोदी में उठाया और गोद में उसको लिटा कर भगवान से प्रार्थना की कि यदि मैं ने कोई व्रत या पुण्य किया हो तो इसका दुःख दूर हो । तो कहते हैं कि ऐसा कहने पर उसको भगवान के दर्शन हुए । यह आर्थोडाक्स सिस्टम की बात हैं यह पोलीटिकल सिस्टम की बात नहीं हैं । जो अस्पृश्यता के तत्व को नहीं जानते हैं और केवल राजनैतिक अस्पृश्यता के नाम से एक डंका और ढिंढोरा पीटा करते हैं, उनसे मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि केवल अस्पृश्यता शब्द मात्र से और पार्टी के नाम से किसी के साथ अन्याय मत करो । आप बारबार जानते भी हैं और कहते हैं कि जनता को अगर हम कनवर्ट नहीं करेंगे तो हमारा लाभ नहीं होगा,

उनके अन्दर जो धर्म जानने वाले हैं और धर्मशास्त्र को जानते हैं वह इस सिद्धान्त के साथ आपके साथ सहमत भी हैं कि किसी का अपमान नहीं होना चाहिये फिर भी अगर आप गाली देकर और दबाव के बल पर अगर कोई काम करना चाहते हैं तो वह आप कभी नहीं कर पायेंगे। जिस हिन्दू जाति को औरंगजेब नहीं मार सका उस जाति को आप भी मार नहीं सकेंगे। जिस वक्त सन् १९३० में हम सत्याग्रह में काम करते थे और विदेशी हुकूमत से सामना था तो स्वर्गीय रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल के शब्दों में जैसे हम उस समय की विदेशी सत्ता को कहते थे कि : "सरफरोशी की तमन्ना अब हमारे दिल में है, देखना है जोर कितना बाजुए कातिल में है" वही शेर अगर आप अन्याय पर उतर आते हैं तो मैं आपको कहूंगा। समस्त परिषद् तथा और अन्य हिन्दू संस्थाएं अपने हरिजन बन्धुओं का अपमान नहीं करना चाहतीं लेकिन अगर कोई शख्स इस बहाने हिन्दू धर्म को मिटाना चाहता है, हमारे मंदिरों को मिटाना चाहता है तो हम इसको कदापि सहन नहीं करेंगे और ऐसे लोगों से हम यह कहेंगे कि "सरफरोशी की तमन्ना अब हमारे दिल में है, देखना है जोर कितना बाजुए कातिल में है"। यह लड़ाई अन्त्यज और कास्ट हिन्दूज की नहीं है, सवर्ण हिन्दुओं की नहीं है यह उन लोगों की है जो धर्म में विश्वास नहीं करते और जो अस्पृश्यता की आड़ में हिन्दू धर्म को मिटाना चाहते हैं। तो उनसे हमारा यही कहना होगा कि अगर आप हमारे मंदिरों को मिटायेंगे तो हम अपने को मिटाने के लिये तैयार हैं, लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ कदापि नहीं लगाना चाहिये कि हम अपने हरिजन बंधुओं के साथ विरोध रखते हैं या उनके साथ मतभेद रखते हैं। हम हृदय से चाहते हैं कि आप उनको ऊंचा से ऊंचा दर्जा दें। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी स्पीच को खत्म करता हूं।

श्री बोगावत (अहमदनगर दक्षिण) : अपना प्रोग्राम बताइये। *(Interruptions.)*

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri Dabhi (Kaira North): May I know whether the hon. Member supports the Bill?

Shri Nand Lal Sharma: I support the Bill to this extent. So far as the removal of social and political inequality is concerned, I fully support it. But, if you have got any fling at the temples, I oppose it outright.

Shri D. C. Sharma: It is a wonderful parliamentary situation to call Shri D. C. Sharma after Shri Nand Lal Sharma. There is a world of difference between the hon. speaker who preceded me and myself. He represents the voice of the dead past and I represent the views of my country as they exist to day and as they are going to take shape tomorrow and the day after.

12 NOON

I welcome this Bill. I must say that this makes a great deal of improvement upon the existing State legislations, and I think that the attempt to place this matter on an all-India footing is in itself a solution, to some extent, of the problem that the country is facing. I think that untouchability is not to be interpreted in the future—and I say this is one of the most valuable parts of this Bill—in terms of Hinduism only. There are untouchables among followers of other religions also, and I think we have taken an omnibus and overall view of untouchability, and I think this is a great improvement on the existing law.

Again, I know from personal experience that there are certain localities which are the homes of the so-called untouchabilities. There is segregation in this country so far as these touchables and the untouchables are concerned, and I am very happy to find that this law puts an end to that kind of segregation. I also feel happy that excommunication—that dire social weapon in the hands of this outmoded orthodoxy of which my friend who preceded me is the spokesman—has also been made a penal offence. I know more crimes have been committed by this weapon of excommunication than by anything else and it suits India to put

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

under a ban this weapon of excommunication. I also think that in addition to the normal penalty for the offence it has also been said that the privileges which the perpetrators of untouchability enjoy should also be taken away from them. I think these are four very vital and far-reaching things done in this Bill.

[SARDAR HUKAM SINGH *in the Chair*]

But I do not think the Bill goes far enough. I allude to a speech that the hon. Minister Jagjivan Ram made at a conference which was held to discuss this problem, and what did the hon. Minister say? He said some revolutionary steps have to be taken to remove such a social stigma. He said untouchability would disappear at least in law, but in practice it would continue long. I want you to take into account that sentence of the hon. Minister's statement: "some revolutionary steps have to be taken to remove such a social stigma". And what is that revolutionary step? I would say that the hon. Home Minister should bring forward a Bill at some other time which should abolish all castes in this country. Let there be no "Sharmas" and "Varmas" in this country. The things which smack of casteism must disappear. I know what this caste is and its ramifications. This caste is like an octopus whose tentacles spread into every part of our social organisation, and I tell you that this caste has not only been the cause of our social degradation, but also the cause of our political slavery. Even in Free India this caste is operating in the political field. Even in Free India I say that this caste has not disappeared. I would, therefore, say that this casteism which is a blot, I should say, in the pages of Indian history should be done away with Unless you do away with this caste, I think the desire to remove untouchability is like the desire of an old man to become young, or like the desire of some person who is aiming at the moon. I would say, therefore, that this half-hearted measure is good in its way, but it does not tackle the problem in a fundamental manner. I know many attempts have been made to abolish this caste. My hon. friend referred to Sadna and Kabir. Who created Sadna? Who created Kabir? Not the orthodox people. If they became great, if we honour them today, we do so because their intrinsic merit, and their great qualities could not be ignored. The orthodox people did everything in their power to keep them down and to treat them as persons who were outside the pale of respectable Hindu society.

I would, therefore, say that this casteism should be abolished, because it is our desire to have a casteless, classless society, and unless we abolish this caste system, we cannot have that kind of progress which we want in this free and secular India.

Again, I would say that this Bill is primarily—as every other Bill is—bound to be penal in nature. The curse of untouchability is like a hydra-headed monster. You take away one of its heads, and two heads come out in its place. You remove it in one place, and it appears in another place. You try to cut it out in one form, and it appears in another form. All the Members who have spoken before me, and especially the Members of the so-called Scheduled Castes, have borne testimony to the fact that this untochability is to be found in so many forms. I would, therefore, say that we should make a psychological approach to this problem. We should make an ethical approach to this problem, we should make an educational approach to this problem, and we should also make, as my hon. friend Dr. Krishnaswami said, a structural approach to this problem, and I would say that if a Bill like this comes before the House, all these approaches should be combined, so that the Bill can become effective.

The history of social legislation in India is a history of which I cannot feel proud. We have passed very good

bills here bringing about social reform, but what has been the result? For instance, the Sarda Act was passed. What has been the result of that Sarda Act? So many other social measures have been passed, but they have not been as effective as they should be. I would, therefore, say that in a Bill like this, all the different approaches should be brought into play, so that the evil with which we are dealing is dealt with effectively, and not in a timid, hesitant halting manner. What happens when you say that a man will be punished for six months, if he practises untouchability in any manner? I know what happens. I go to my constituency, and a Harijan comes to me and says, "Well, the so-called caste Hindus are not treating me well." I write to the Deputy Commissioner, and I write to the offices saying that something should be done. He sends an officer to enquire into the case, and what happens is that the poor man does not find the courage to come before the officer and tell him all that has happened to him. This happens because you have not given the Harijan that amount of self-respect which is needed; you have not given him that amount of social standing which will enable him to stand up to anybody in this world, on the strength of his being a man. You must make a psychological approach to this problem. But I find that no psychological approach has been made in this Bill, to give the Harijan that amount of self-respect or self-esteem which is necessary, if this Bill is to be a success.

Again, I know that untouchability is going to be made a crime. To make untouchability a crime, we do not want only to set in motion the forces of law and order, but we have also got to make an appeal, not the vague kind of appeal which my friends make here or make from the platform, not the dim kind of appeal which they make, but we have got to make an appeal to the social conscience of our citizens, who belong to the so-called high castes—if I can use that expression. How are we going to make that appeal to the moral being of these persons? Something should have been done, I think some quotations, some approach which Mahatma Gandhi had made to this problem, should have been incorporated in the Bill so that the moral appeal of this Bill should have become as great as possible.

Again, what kind of educational approach should be there? A friend was talking here about a land army. By creating a land army of Harijans, how do you solve the problem? Everyone will say that this is a land army of the Harijans; you perpetuate the caste system in another form. You do not solve the problem of the Harijans. If you have a land army which consists of all the persons and you make a Harijan the commander of that army, perhaps that may be a palliative, but by creating a land army you do not solve the Harijan problem. The Harijan problem can be solved only if you make it compulsory.

The other day a question was put on the floor of this House about the educational facilities given to Harijans, and I am ashamed to say that in the capital of India, in this home of progress, in this home where we have the Lok Sabha, the Delhi University has not yet given any educational concessions to the Harijans. I am ashamed to say this. I know there are many universities which give these educational concessions, but I am simply wonderstruck to find that Delhi University has not done it.

Pandit D. N. Tiwary: Bihar has given every concession to the Harijans.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Perhaps Bihar also has done it.

Shri Velayudhan: The Central Institue of Education run by the Central Ministry of Education directly is also not giving the Harijans any concessions.

Shri D. C. Sharma: What I mean is this, that there should have been a provision in this Bill to make it a legal

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

right of Harijans to get education from the beginning to the top.

Then—I will take only two or three minutes more—the Harijan Welfare Board, to which a reference has been made by my friends, should be made a really effective body, and it should not function only at the top. There was a poet—I think you know his name as well as I do—Coleridge, an English poet. He said in one of his poems 'the footless birds of paradise'. It is a very wonderful phrase—the footless birds of paradise. This Harijan Board is a Board which like a bird flies only in the sky but has no foot on the ground; it is a footless bird of our creation.

An Hon. Member: Where is the Board?

Shri D. C. Sharma: Therefore I say that this Harijan Board should be there as the watchdog of our nation. It should be the sentinel of our nation. It should have its branches all over the country, in every district, in every village, in every town. It should act as the sentinel of the rights of the Harijans.

Sir, I congratulate the Home Minister. He is a humanitarian and he has shown a great deal of interest in framing this Bill. But I would say that he should try to bring into this Bill some of those things which will make the practice of untouchability an offence not only in the legal sense but also in the moral sense, in the social sense and, I would say with due regard for my hon. friend, Shri Nand Lal Sharma, in the religious sense. He was talking of temples. I know about temples, I go to the temples and I am a great believer in temples. But, I tell you the gods of the 20th century have now become democratic.

Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha (Patna East): Gods have always been (*Interruptions*).

Shri D. C. Sharma: They do not want only the high caste Hindus to come and pray to them; they are longing for the Harijans also to come to them and the more the Harijans come to them the happier they are. Therefore, I should say in the religious sense also these temples should be thrown open to the Harijans—not only these temples but also those temples where God is worshipped in his many other forms and aspects.

Mr. Chairman: Shri Achalu.

Kumari Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum): On a point of order, Sir. Have you enforced this untouchability on the women Members of this House?

Mr. Chairman: It is unfortunate that the hon. lady Member has felt like that. I assure her that there is no such enforcement.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: Then how is it that no lady Member of this House has been called upon to speak?

An Hon. Member: She has not caught the eye, Sir.

श्री अचल् (नलगोंडा—रक्षित—अनुसूचित जातियां): सभापति जी, हमारे एक भाई के सवाल का जवाब देते हुए काटजू साहब ने कहा था कि मैं हरिजनों को खाना बनाने वालों की जगह पर नहीं बल्कि उन्हें ओहदों और कुर्सियों पर बिठाऊंगा। इस बिल को मैं मुख्तलिफ शक्ल में देखता हूं, फिर भी यह बिल आया है यह बहुत खुशी की बात है लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि यह कानून हमको जो हुकूक देता है इनको पहले किस पर लागू किया जायगा। पहला यही मसला है कि इनको किसके ऊपर हम पहले चलायें। मैं तो समझता हूं कि इनको पहले उन सरकारी अफसरों पर ही चलाना चाहिए जो कि हुकूमत करने वाले हैं। जो सरकारी अफसर हैं वे सवर्ण हिन्दुओं से भी ज्यादा अनटचेबिलिटी कर रहे हैं।

हमारे जिले में एक कलेक्टर था, अब उसका तबादला हो गया है। हम उसके पास कई बार

हरिजनों की मुसीबतों के बारे में रिप्रेजेंटेशन करने के लिए गये लेकिन उन्होंने मुझ से मिलने से इन्कार कर दिया। जो आजकल डिप्टी कलक्टर हैं जब हम उनके पास जाते हैं हरिजनों के हुकूक के लिए और रिप्रेजेंट करते हैं तो वह इसको सरदर्द समझते हैं। तो ऐसी हालत में हमारे हुकूक के लिए कौन काम करेगा। इन अफसरों के दिलों में हरिजनों की भलाई करना नहीं है। हम इस कानून को बना लें लेकिन जो उस कानून पर अमल कराने वाले अफसर हैं उनके दिल में इसको अमल में लाने की बात नहीं है। जब उनके ही दिल में यह बात नहीं है तो हम और लोगों पर कैसे इसको लागू कर सकेंगे। अगर हम अफसरों से कहा जाता है तो वह सुनते नहीं। वही अफसर हैं वही सवर्ण हैं। हमारे ऊपर जो ज्यादती होती है अगर हम उसकी शिकायत करते हैं तो कोई नहीं सुनता और हमारे ऊपर मार पीट और होती है।

हमारे जिले के अन्दर एक लेडी डाक्टर थी। वह गरीबों को अपने नजदीक नहीं आने देती थी और खासकर हरिजनों को तो दूर रखती थी। एक हरिजन की लड़की बीमार हुई। उसको रात के बारह बजे अस्पताल ले जाया गया। लेकिन लेडी डाक्टर ने उसको देखा नहीं। जब वह मरने लगी तो उसका बाप उसके पास गया और कहा कि मेरी लड़की मर रही है लेकिन लेडी डाक्टर ने उसे नहीं देखा और कहा कि मैं तुम्हारी नौकर नहीं हूं। यह सुनकर वह बेचारा बेहोश हो गया। वह लेडी डाक्टर के पास बहुत चिल्लाया और उसने बहुत सी बातें कीं। उसके बाद हरिजनों ने एक मैमोरेंडम अफसरों को दिया। उस पर इन्क्वायरी हुई और बहुत से बयान लेडी डाक्टर के सामने उसके खिलाफ दिये गये। लेकिन इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि उसका यहां से तरक्की पर तबादला कर दिया गया। अब आप देखिये कि हम लोगों की बात सुनने वाला कौन है। मैं चाहता हूं कि जो हुकूमत करने वाले हैं उन पर पहले यह कानून लगाया जाय। जब हुकूमत के अन्दर ये चीजें हैं तो यह कानून सवर्ण हिन्दुओं पर कैसे लागू हो सकता है। उनके मुकाबले हम क्या कर सकते हैं। हमारे बच्चे स्कूल में जाते हैं तो उनसे कहा जाता है कि तुम क्यों पढ़ते हो। तुम मजदूरी करो। उसके ऊपर जद्दोजहद चली। उसके बाद अब यह हालत है कि अगर बच्चों के कपड़े मैले होते हैं तो उनको स्कूल से हटा देते हैं. अगर उनका कपड़ा कुछ फटा होता है तो स्कूल से निकाल देते हैं। जब सरकारी मुलाजिमों का यह हाल है तो हमारे साथ कैसे न्याय होगा।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि नलगोंडा ताल्लुक में खेतेपल्ली गांव में एक रोमन कैथोलिक मिशनरी है। पहले कुछ हरिजन रोमन कैथोलिक बन गये फिर वे हरिजनों में वापस आना चाहते थे। उस मिशनरी ने उनमें से दो को पकड़ कर पीटा। एक गांव छोड़कर भाग गया। दूसरा मेरे पास पहुंचा। मैं उसे लेकर ए० एस० पी० के पास पहुंचा। उन्होंने सब इंस्पेक्टर को लिख दिया। सब इंस्पेक्टर मिशनरी के पास गया, उसके यहां एक रात मुकाम किया और उसने कोई जांच नहीं की। स्वयं पादरी ने भी हरिजनों को भड़काया कि वे उसके खिलाफ बयान न दें। पादरी ने उनको डराया और धमकाया, उनकी बेइज्जती की। उल्टा उस पादरी ने हरिजन पर मानभंग का दावा किया। और यह दावा अभी चल रहा है।

हमारे धर्म मानने वाले आनरेबिल मेम्बर ने कहा कि हम लोगों में आज अनटचेबिलिटी नहीं है। जो हमारे ताल्लुक में ब्राह्मण हैं यदि उनके भोजन करते समय हरिजन का नाम भी लिया जाय तो वह भोजन छोड़ देते हैं। इतनी अनटचेबिलिटी है। आज धर्म का नाम लेते हुए वे लोग हरिजनों के लिए कुछ भी नहीं कर रहे हैं।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि हैदराबाद में गवर्नमेंट ने हम लोगों को कुछ जमीन दी हुई है। हैदराबाद में पुलिस एक्शन होने के बाद कांग्रेस के भाई और अपोजीशन के भाई दोनों ने कहा कि हरिजनों को सरकारी जमीन दी जाय। पुश्तैनी साल से जो खास जमीनें थीं उन पर कुछ लोग काश्त कर रहे थे। लेकिन पग्गों यह कानून

[श्री अचल]

निकला है कि सन् १९५० के पहले के जो काबिज हैं उनको तो हक है लेकिन उसके बाद के जो हैं उनका हक नहीं है । यह कह कर उनको बेदखल किया जाता है, उन पर तावान लगाया जाता है और दूसरे तरीके से उनकी जमीनें जब्त की जाती हैं । यह चीज हो रही है । जमीनें जमींदारों से ले कर हमको दी जायं या न दी जायं लेकिन गवर्नमेंट की जो जमीनें हैं उनको भी हमारे पास नहीं रहने दिया जाता और उनसे हमको बेदखल किया जाता और हम पर तावान लगाया जाता है और फसलें जब्त की जाती हैं और इस तरह परेशान किया जाता है । जो कुछ साल भर मेहनत करके खाने के वक्त नसीब हो रहा है उसको इस तरह से ले लिया जाता है । इसलिए जो जमीनात आज हमारे पास हैं और जिन पर हम गुजिश्ता साल से खेती कर रहे हैं वे हमारे पास छोड़ दी जानी चाहिए । और जो तावान लिया जाता है उसको रद्द करना चाहिए ।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि इन जमीनों का पट्टा मिलना चाहिए । उन लोगों को जराअत के लिए और सहूलियतें दी जानी चाहिएं । उनको बीज मिलना चाहिए, खाद मिलनी चाहिए, और उनको गवर्नमेंट को पैसा भी देना चाहिए ।

हमारे यहां ज्यादातर काम करने वाले हरिजन हैं । उनकी एक लेबर कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी भी बनी है । लेकिन उसको गवर्नमेंट कुछ भी मदद नहीं देती । जितना भी वर्क है वह ठेकेदार को न देकर हरिजन लेबर कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी को ही देना चाहिए । गवर्नमेंट को कोआपरेटिव सोसाइटी की भी मदद करनी चाहिए । दूसरी बात यह है कि जैसा कि अभी हमारे एक कांग्रेस के भाई बोले हैं कि कांग्रेस वाले आजकल हरिजनों की दशा सुधारने के हेतु काम नहीं कर रहे हैं, हमें चाहिये कि हम उनके बीच में काम करें और जमीन आदि के जो उनके झगड़े हैं उनको निबटाने का प्रयत्न करें । इस काम में अकेले कांग्रेस वालों को ही नहीं चलना है बल्कि देश की दूसरी पार्टियों को भी आगे आना चाहिये, अपोजीशन को भी इसमें शामिल होना चाहिये और सबको मिलकर हरिजन भाइयों के लिये सहूलियत और सुविधा पैदा करनी चाहिये । हम मिल कर उनको अच्छा रास्ता दिखायें और उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार करें और उनको जमीन आदि दिलवाने का प्रबन्ध करें ।

Mr. Chairman: Before I call Kumari Annie Mascarene to speak, I would request the hon. lady to conclude within ten minutes, because one more speaker has to be accommodated.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: All these penalties are imposed on ladies. (*Interruption*).

I hope the hon. Minister will not be surprised when he hears from me that legislation on this subject is simply futile.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Muzaffarpur Central): And farcical.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: I am speaking from experience of such a legislation in my State long before this idea could drawn upon the hon. Home Minister and I may tell the House that the repercussions of such a law with a penalty clause in it had absolutely very poor results in my State. The hon. Minister at the very start said that this is a coercive measure. Of course, on reading through the Bill, we find that section 13 says that there is a penalty clause of recognising the offence as cognisable. Therefore, it is clear that a coercive measure adopted at this juncture is calculated to convince the public of India that the destiny of 64 million people has been taken very seriously into consideration by the Congress Government and that they are going to promulgate a law to enforce it at the point of the sword. I appreciate the attitude of the Government, but let me ask them a simple question: have you ever succeeded in forcing people to observe discipline at the point of the sword?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazaribagh West): No.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: This is a social leprosy on humanity and the history can be traced back to the *Manu Smriti* itself, which has classified people or confined them to *Varnashrama Dharma*. I am sorry I have heard from my esteemed friend, Mr. Sharma, that in the *sastras*.....

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: There are two Sharmas here.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: From Mr. Nand Lal Sharma. I heard from him that there are no untouchability provisions in the *sastras*. I have not read the *sastras*, but I have heard of Nandanar, a Harijan, who was not allowed to enter the temple and who had to bring himself at the portals of the house and burn himself in order to join godhood. That story of Nandanar has been filmed in South India—I do not know whether it is so in the North—but it is a *sastraic* story. Untouchables did exist in spite of the *sastras*, and practical human experience for the last several ages has shown us that there was untouchability and this tall talking of Mr. Sharma is confined only to this House. It has been the experience of history that this social evil existed all over the world and all founders of religions have come out with the idea of removing this evil. You can see it from Buddha; you can see it from Mahavira; you can see it from Christ, and later on, from humanitarians like Lincoln, Mohammad, down to Mahatma Gandhi. All of them preached the equality of man, the comradeship of man, the brotherhood of human beings, as the children of God. But still untouchability persisted with its pertinacity and it was left to the credit of the Father of the Nation to fight with his moral force this evil of human differences and today the degeneracy of caste and the evil of untouchability is getting buried under the crumbling debris of that pyramidical superstructure. His *satyagraha* movements and fasts unto death are fresh in our memory.

I may in this connection impress upon the hon. Minister that only a few years back we in Travancore with mass literacy in the State have handled this problem. Long before we could get independence, Travancore proclaimed temple entry and Harijans were allowed to enter the temple of God freely. But I must remind you that the object behind it, the sincerity behind it was questionable, because a large majority of Harijans, millions of them, threatened to embrace Christianity because the doors of temples were not open to them. Hence the temple entry proclamation was made and it received encomia from even Mahatma Gandhi. But today you will find that the Harijans are not very anxious to go to the temples. Then we passed a law removing other disabilities, freedom of worship, freedom of entering hotels, etc. That was by the first Congress Ministry in Travancore-Cochin State. But what was the result? The caste Hindus closed their hotels, so much so after the last General Elections in my constituency a large number of Harijans organised themselves to fight it out under the shade of the law. They did not succeed, and at a meeting over which I presided, the Harijan leader who spoke on this disability was immediately manhandled in my presence. I had to save him by putting him in my car and taking him away. I appealed to the police authorities and pointed out the law: "Here is a law with a penalty provision; will you enforce the law?" He replied: "It is easy to pass a law, but to enforce it is difficult: there must be a change of mind." Yes, I repeat it. It is not the law that is required. A law is no law if it cannot command obedience. Why do you pass these large numbers of laws in this House without having the strength or the determination to enforce them? There is a penalty clause now. Will you add another clause in case of failure of enforcement? A provision must be added

[Kumari Annie Mascarene]

to make it a cognizable offence on the executive authorities of the State if they do not enforce it.

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Distt.—South): Laws are not passed in that way.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: Laws are not made to be enforced, then this is only of propaganda value; it has not got any moral force behind it. I have seen it in my State. Therefore, I wish to impress upon the House that besides passing this law with a cognizable clause in it, Government should take it seriously into their hands to enforce it. Who should enforce it? The police authorities should. It is only day before yesterday that I have come in closer contact with them and I have no faith that they will enforce these laws. Therefore, I request the Government once more to bring the change of heart and it is the change of heart, generosity of character, humanity that is required. It is left to the Government to give them land. Who is a Harijan? He is a person who suffers from economic disability; he has no status. Give him land. He is ignorant. Educate him; give all the Harijans free education. You introduce measures and you enforce them in such a way that these evils are removed, not with law alone but with sincerity behind it. You do it with your own hands; give them jobs, educate them, give them lands and help them to come up. That is the way to solve the problem, not by legislation. Anyway, this law has got a very good object behind it and sincerity. I appreciate the law, and as far as legislation is concerned, I congratulate the Government for bringing forward this law.

Mr. Chairman: I would request the hon. Deputy Minister to speak but he may take only ten minutes because I want to accommodate one or two hon. Members more before calling upon the hon. Home Minister at 1 o'clock.

The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Datar) *rose*—

Shri Sadhan Gupta (Calcutta-South-East): Mr. Chairman, I wanted to make this request. I have an amendment which, if you look at it, you will agree that it needs a little elucidation. May I have just a few minutes to explain that?

Mr. Chairman: It will be difficult for me but I will look into it.

Shri Datar: Mr. Chairman, I had no desire to intervene in this debate but we had certain—what I may call—misstatements from the sole, if not the solitary, representative of the so-called Ram Rajya Parishad. Therein he purported to quote certain authorities and asked us to believe that Hinduism has not done any injustice to the untouchables. That is entirely wrong. That is the reason why Gandhiji stated that we have done wrong to these untouchables. We should not try to defend it at all. I have before me one of the most important Sanskrit texts, namely, *Manu Smriti*, which all of you are aware, is of divine importance and is one of the earliest books on Hinduism. It deals with the spiritual aspects of life. So far as that is concerned, it is highly commendable. The great Manu has also laid down certain important principles regarding law and society. So far as they are concerned, we find that his contribution to the making of law is highly commendable and exemplary. Apart from these portions, there are also certain portions which are highly revolting to every Hindu. They are dealing, not with religion as such, but with the social conditions in which certain classes of people then lived. These portions ought to be highly revolting even to an ordinary citizen. So far as our history is concerned, I desire all unprejudiced members of the Hindu society.....

Pandit K. C. Sharma: May I point to the hon. Member that when Manu wrote the very important law, all over the world worse conditions existed in the form of slavery and other conditions?.....

Mr. Chairman: Let the hon. Member proceed.

Shri Datar: That was no justification even for Manu to perpetuate such conditions in India..... (*interruption*).

Mr. Chairman: I would request hon. Members to exercise a certain amount of restraint though they might differ.

Shri Datar: I would appeal to the conscience of the Hindus in particular to find out what was stated so far as *Manu Smriti* in Chapter X was concerned.

I might also point out that the untouchables were not considered by our forefathers as part of the four-fold caste system at all. The terms untouchable, and others were used by way of an apology; they were beyond the pale of the four-fold caste system. And that is what has been stated here:

सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः ।

All these other people, the ancestors of the present untouchables, were called *Dasyus*. *Dasyu* means a robber.

And then it has been described further, from verse 45 onwards, that they are to live outside the towns or villages; they are not to live in the villages at all.

चंडालश्वपचानां तु बहिर्ग्रामात्प्रतिश्रय ।
अपयात्राश्च कर्तव्या धनं तेषांश्वगर्दभम् ॥?॥

And do you know what kind of wealth they had? All the wealth that they could have was only *swagardabham*. That is, they could maintain only asses and dogs.

It has been further stated that they should not be dealt with at all. They न तैः समयमन्विच्छेत् पुरुषो धर्ममाचरन् have to take what are known as the leavings of our food. (उच्छिष्ट मन्नं दातव्यम्)

So that was the condition that was in India about three thousand years ago. And it was for this reason that Gandhiji took it upon himself for the first time to do penance for the sins that Hinduism has committed.

So far as the eternal principles of Hinduism are concerned, so far as its spiritual and metaphysical principles are concerned, they are perfectly right. But we would be doing injustice to ourselves, we would be making a parody of history if we say that Hindu religion did not do injustice to such people. Injustice has been done. It is a centuries-old injustice. That is why Gandhiji asked us to do full penance. And that is what we have to do.

Shri V. G. Deshpande: It is people who do not understand *Sastras* who plead like this.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव (गुड़गांव) : मुझे श्री दातार की आखिरी स्पीच सुन कर यह ताज्जुब हुआ कि आया यह जो बिल हैं यह किस के लिये लाया जा रहा हैं ? क्या यह बिल अन्त्यजों के वास्ते हैं, क्या यह बिल दरअस्ल उन लोगों के वास्ते हैं जिन का डिस्क्रिप्शन अभी हमने मनुस्मृति से सुना हैं । मैं तो इस बिल को देख कर हैरान हूं । जब हम ने कान्स्टिट्यूशन बनाया तो हम ने चाहा था कि इस किस्म का बिल आये । उस वक्त हम ने लिखा था दफा १७ में :

> "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law."

हम ने दफा १७ में इतना लिखा था । बाकी जो फंडामेन्ट राइट्स थे वह सारे हिन्दुस्तान के वास्ते तकरीबन एकसां थे ।

अब मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि यह जो अनटचीबिलिटी बिल हैं यह फिर बाकया कौन सी अनटचीबिलिटी को डिफाइन करता हैं ? आब्जेक्ट्स एंड रीजन्स में इस बिल के मेम्बर इन्चार्ज साहब ने यह लिखा हैं कि हम अनटचीबिलिटी को डिफाइन नहीं कर सकते ।

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

हमें नहीं मालूम हैं कि यह अनटचेबिलिटी क्या हैं । मैं जनाब की खिदमत में बहुत अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अनटचेबिलिटी की जो डेफिनिशन बिल की दफा २ एफ में लिखी हुई हैं वह इतनी हैरानकुन हैं और इतनी गलत हैं कि एक मिनट के वास्ते भी हाउस उस को कबूल नहीं कर सकता हैं । अनटचेबिलिटी की तारीफ यह दी गई :

> "(f) 'untouchable' means a member of a Scheduled Caste as defined in clause (24) of article 366 of the Constitution, and includes any other person who by custom or usage is regarded as an **untouchable by any community or section thereof.**"

मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों को अनटचेबिल कहा जा सकता हैं ? क्या यह छुएं नहीं जाते हैं? क्या यह चांडाल हैं ? क्या हम उनके हाथ नहीं लगाते । यह वही गलती हैं जो कि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने की थी । लाला लाजपत राय ने इसके ऊपर सख्त प्रोटेस्ट किया था । उन्होंने सारे शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों को अनटचेबिल मान लिया था । हमारे शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के भाई यहां बैठे हैं । हम सब उनसे मिलते हैं । वह अनटचेबिल की तारीफ में नहीं आते । शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग खुद भंगियों के साथ अनटचेबिलिटी प्रेक्टिस करते हैं । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि कितने शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग हैं जो भंगियों से मिलते जुलते हैं ।

मैं ने हाउस में सिर्फ दो स्पीचेज अनटचेबिलिटी पर सुनी हैं, एक तो टंडन जी की और दूसरी बाल्मीकी जी की । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर आप अनटचेबिलिटी को हटाना चाहते हैं तो सोशल डिसएबिलिटीज को इसके साथ क्यों ले आये । मेरे यह कहने से यह मतलब नहीं हैं कि मुझे शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों की डिसएबिलिटीज से हमदर्दी नहीं हैं । मैं तो एक कदम और आगे बढ़ना चाहता हूं और इस सम्बन्ध में मैं अपने प्रोपोजल पेश करूंगा। अगर आप अनटचेबिलिटी को दूर करना चाहते हैं तो आपको फिल वाकें वैसा बिल लाना चाहिए था । आप देखें कि यहां जितने म्युनिसिपल एक्ट हैं उनमें पबलिक यूटिलिटी की यह तारीफ दी गयी हैं कि अगर भंगी काम न करें तो उनको जेल में डाल दिया जाय । मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इस सारे काम को एक दूसरे से नहीं मिलाया जा सकता । अगर आप शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों की सोशल डिसएबिलिटीज को दूर करना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए एक दूसरा बिल लावें । लेकिन अनटचेबिलिटी जिसको हम एबोलिश करते हैं वह इस बिल से हटने वाली नहीं हैं । इसमें ऐसी बातें दी हुई हैं कि जिनका अनटचेबिलिटी से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं हैं । इसका इलाज तो हमारे टंडन जी ने बताया हैं । इस बिल से अनटचेबिलिटी दूर नहीं होगी । जिन लोगों का इसमें जिक्र हैं वह खुद अनटचेबिलिटी प्रेक्टिस करते हैं । फिर इसमें लिखा हैं कि अभी गवर्नमेंट को पता लगाना हैं कि अनटचेबिल कौन कौन हैं । इस बिल में लिखा हैं :

> "...and includes any other person who by custom or usage is regarded as an 'untouchable' by any community or section thereof."

अभीतक गवर्नमेंट को पता नहीं हैं कि वे अनटचेबिल कौन हैं । मैं हैरान हूं कि यह किस तरह की बात हैं । क्या गवर्नमेंट यह कह सकती हैं कि यहां ६,४०,००,००० अनटचेबिल हैं । यह खिलाफ वाकयात हैं । अगर आप अनटचेबिलिटी को दर अस्ल दूर करना चाहते हैं तो सिम्पटम्स से क्यों लड़ते हैं । कोई ठीक कानून लाइये और बीमारी को जड़ से काटिये ।

एक और चीज हैं जो इतनी हैरान करने वाली तो नहीं हैं मगर फिर भी हैरान करने वाली हैं । इसके एक एक्सप्लेनेशन में दिया हुआ हैं :

> "A member of a Scheduled Caste who has been converted from the Hindu religion to any other religion shall, not withstanding such conversion, be deemed to

be an 'untouchable' for the purposes of this Act."

मैं इसको बिल्कुल नहीं समझा । मैं अदब से गुजारिश करूंगा कि आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर साहब जब व्याख्या करें तो इसको साफ कर दें ।

गृह-कार्य तथा राज्य मंत्री (डाक्टर काटजू) : मुझ में इतनी कुव्वत नहीं है कि आपको समझा सकूं ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर ऐसा करने की अपने में ताकत नहीं समझते यह तो एक यूफिमिज्म है और इसके मानी यह हैं कि मैं समझ नहीं सकता । मैं मानता हूं कि मैं न समझ सकूं । लेकिन मेरी समझ में न आने की यह वजह भी हो सकती है कि यह बिल दुरुस्त न हो । यह हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन के बिल्कुल खिलाफ है । कांस्टीट्यूशन की दफा २५ में दिया हुआ है कि हर आदमी को अपनी रिलीजस फ्रीडम है, लेकिन यहां उसको थोड़ा सा रेस्ट्रिक्ट कर दिया गया है । मैं आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर साहब की तवज्जह कांस्टीट्यूशन की दफा २५ की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं । इस दफा के पार्ट १ में दिया हुआ है :

"25. (1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagage religion.

(2) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law—"

* * * * * *

"(b) providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus."

हिन्दुओं के अन्दर जैन, बुध, सिख शामिल किये गये हैं । मैं अदब से पूछना चाहता हूं कि आज अगर एक हिन्दू, जिसको कि आनरेबिल होम मिनिस्टर अनटचेबिल कहते हैं वह मुसलमान हो जाय या ईसाई हो जाय तो क्या वह उसको यह हक देना चाहते हैं कि वह इस कानून के लिए अनटचेबिल हैं और वह हिन्दुओं के मन्दिर में जाकर sanctuary को हाथ लगावे, उस मन्दिर में पूजा करें ।

डा० काटजू : क्या वह करेगा ?

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : यह सवाल नहीं है । मैं जानता हूं कि आज मन्दिर खाली पड़े हैं । अगर यह अछूत मन्दिर में नहीं जायगा तो मुझे बतलाइये आपने यह किस गरज से यह हिस्सा कानून का बनाया है । मैं एक ऐसे मन्दिर को जानता हूं कि जिसमें एक ब्राह्मण को भी जाने की इजाजत नहीं है । क्या इसकी रू से आप उस शख्स को ऐसे मन्दिरों में जाने की इजाजत देना चाहते हैं । इसमें यह नहीं लिखा है कि हरएक आदमी जो कनवर्ट हो जाय वह जरूर वहां चला ही जायगा । लेकिन अगर वह जाना चाहे तो रोकने वाला ६ महीने कैद हो सकेगा । मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि यह चीज कांस्टीट्यूशन के खिलाफ है ।

तीसरी चीज जो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि कांस्टीट्यूशन की दफा १७ में लिखा है कि अनटचेबिलिटी एबालिश हो गयी। और जो डिसएबिलिटी अनटचेबिलिटी की वजह से हो रही हो वह आफेंस मानी जायगी । अगर आप किसी चीज को ऐसा आफेंस बनाते हैं जो दफा १७ में आफेंस नहीं बनता तो वह दफा १४ के बरखिलाफ जाता है ।

इसलिए मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि इसमें तीन चार सवाल कांस्टीट्यूशनल ला के आ गये हैं जिन पर तवज्जह दी जानी चाहिए । अगर आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर साहब कुछ कहना चाहते हैं तो मैं सुनने को तैयार हूं ।

Mr. Chairman (Sardar Hukam Singh): Has the hon. Member finished?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I have not.

Mr. Chairman: Then, we may continue. And I would request the hon. Home Minister to exercise as much restraint as other Members.

Dr. Katju: I have not spoken a single word. I have not said anything. I just put on my cap.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : कई शख्स जबान से बोलते हैं। कई सारे जिस्म से बोलते हैं, कई आंख से बोलते हैं।

Mr. Chairman: I would request the hon. Member to continue his speech and not to care about the movements of the hon. Minister.

मैं सिर्फ एक बात और अर्ज करना चाहता हूं। अगर आप अनटचेबिलिटी को हटाना चाहते हैं तो कन्सेप्शन आफ कास्ट को भी हटा दीजिये। जबतक इस देश में कास्ट है तबतक अनटचेबिलिटी नहीं जा सकती गीता में लिखा है :

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः,
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ।

अगर ये लोग ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय और वैश्य रहेंगे.....

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri (Gauhati): On a point of information.....

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am not giving way.

श्री आर० के० चौधरी : चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुण कर्म विभागशः।

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member knows the procedure that when the speaker is not giving way, he ought not to interrupt.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : जिसको यह कोट करते हैं उसमें तो गुण कर्म विभागशः है। इसका यहां क्या सवाल है। चौधरी साहब के गुण और कर्म उनकी जात के मुताबिक नहीं हैं इस लिए उन को मैं छोड़ता हूं। तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि जबतक यह कास्ट का कन्सेप्शन हिन्दू सोसाइटी में है या देश में रहेगा, यह नामुमकिन है कि अनटचेबिलिटी हट जाय। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब एक ऐसे शख्स हैं जो हर मौके पर कम्युनलिज्म और कास्टिज्म और प्राविंशियलिज्म के खिलाफ जहाद करते हैं। मुझे यह निहायत पसन्द है। मैं चाहता हूं कि वह सिर्फ जबानी जहाद न करें। हमारे आनरेबिल डाक्टर काटजू साहब भी बहुत मौकों पर ऐसा कहते हैं। लेकिन मैं तो यह अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि सिर्फ जबान से कहने से कुछ नहीं होगा। आप अमल से भी कुछ करके दिखाइये। गवर्नमेंट बताये कि उसने कितने इंटरकास्ट मैरिज एनकरेज किये। गवर्नमेंट बताये आया उसने सोशल रिफार्म का कोई काम किया है, सोशल रिफार्म की मिनिस्ट्री कायम की है ? मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अगर आप वाकई अछूतों की डिसएबिलिटीज को दूर करना चाहते हैं तो मैं उसके लिए चार नुस्खे बताना चाहता हूं। उन पर अमल कीजिये। मुझे आपके इस बिल से कोई एतराज नहीं है। मैं इसके लिए आपको मुबारकबाद देता हूं। लेकिन मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इन चार बातों पर अमल कीजिये ताकि शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों की डिसएबिलिटीज दूर हों। वे बातें ये हैं :

१. जितने स्कूल और कालिज हैं उनमें इनको मुफ्त पढाइये। सबको कम से कम मिडिल तक तो पढाना ही चाहिए। जो होशियार लड़के हों उनको कालिज में मुफ्त पढाया जाय और उनको मुफ्त होस्टल में रखा जाय।

२. दूसरी बात यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि देश में जितनी नौकरियां हैं उनके लिए अगर ठीक शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वाले मिलें तो सारी नौकरियां शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट वालों को दी जायं पांच वर्ष के लिये। मेरा तीसरा प्वाइंट यह है कि हजारहा बीघा नई तोड़ी हुई जमीनें पड़ी हैं। जितने आपके गवर्नमेंट लैंडलेस हैं अगर उनको आप लैंडलेस लेबरर्स को दें दें ताकि वह अपना गुजारा कर सकें तो मैं कहूंगा कि वह आपका सही कदम होगा। लेकिन अगर आप यह न करके सिर्फ उनके लिये यह

अधिकार दिलाना चाहते हैं कि वह मंदिर में घंटा बजा सकें, तो मेरी राय में वह बीमारी का सही इलाज न होगा। मंदिरों में घंटा बजाने के दिन गुजर गये, अब सवर्ण हिन्दू भी घंटा नहीं बजाते और अब घंटा बजाने की बात करना केवल प्रोपेगेन्डा के अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं हैं। प्रोपेगेन्डा ही करना हैं तो सबसे पहले इस बात का प्रचार करना चाहिये कि अनटचेबिलिटी हमारे समाज से दूर हो। आप समझते हैं कि आपने ऐसा बिल लाकर इनके ऊपर मेहरबानी की हैं लेकिन यह बात नहीं हैं। दुनिया में और अमरीका में इस बिल को लेकर कोट किया जायगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में अनटचेबिलिटी छः करोड़ चालीस लख आदमियों में हैं और हमारा मुंह काला किया जायगा। यह अनटचेबिलिटी इतनी नहीं हैं, बल्कि एक सोशयल डिसिएबिलिटी हैं जो दूर की जानी चाहिये। अगर आप नहीं कर सकते हैं तो ऐसे बिल को लाने से जो बिल्कुल गलत हैं, खिलाफ वाकयात हैं और मैं तो समझता हूं कि इस बिल के लाने से आप कांस्टीट्यूशन के बरखिलाफ चलते हैं। कांस्टीट्यूशन में आपने दफा २५५ रक्खी हैं कि शेड्यूल कास्ट वह होंगे जिनको कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति डिक्लेयर कर देंगे। २४९ में आपने एक दफा रक्खी।

मुझे आप कांस्टीट्यूशन में कोई दफा ऐसी दिखलाइये जिसमें शेड्यूल कास्ट को अनटचेबुल्स करार दिया गया हो। आपका यह कानून इसमें ऐसे लोगों को शामिल करता हैं जो बिल्कुल अनटचेबुल्स नहीं हैं, आप भड़भूंजों और चमारों को कहते हैं कि वह अनटचेबुल्स हैं, लेकिन मैं आपको बतलाऊं कि वाकया यह नहीं हैं। मैं जानता हूं कि कोई आदमी उनसे परहेज नहीं करता, सब आदमी मिलते जुलते हैं। चमार काश्तकारी में सीरी होते हैं और उन से सब मिलते हैं।

श्री पी० एल० बारूपाल (गंगानगर-झुंझनूं----रक्षित----अनुसूचित जातियां) : गलत बात हैं। चमारों (मेघवालों) आदि की हालत राजस्थान में अति खराब हैं। उनको छूते भी नहीं लोग।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : बिल्कुल सही चीज हैं।

श्री बी० आर० वर्मा (जिला हरदोई----उत्तर पश्चिम व जिला फर्रुखाबाद----पूर्व व जिला शाहजहांपुर----दक्षिण----रक्षित अनुसूचित जातियां): आप हमारे साथ चल कर देखिये कि चमार धोबियों के यहां क्या होता हैं....

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. I would request the hon. Members not to have that kind of talk. Let us hear the hon. Member who is speaking.

I hope the hon. Member will try to conclude now.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I shall conclude within the time given to me. I shall conclude within two minutes. I am not going to take more time.

मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि यह कंट्रोवर्सी का मामला हैं। मैं इस बिल के बरखिलाफ नहीं। अगर कहीं किसी आदमी के साथ सोशयल डिसएबिलिटीज हों तो उनको रिमूव करना चाहिये। मेरा हरगिज यह मतलब नहीं हैं कि किसी शेड्यूल कास्ट के आदमी के साथ हम ऐसा बर्त्ताव करें जो बर्त्ताव हम अपने साथ मुनासिब नहीं समझते, मैं यह कभी नहीं चाहता लेकिन मैं एक रिएलिस्ट के तौर पर यह चाहता हूं कि आप इनकी एकोनामिक हालत सुधारिये और उनको सब हक्क दीजिये और हिम्मत करके यह काम कीजिये और मुझे पूरा यकीन हैं कि अगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो इनकी हालत बहुत जल्द सुधर जायेगी और यह समस्या हल हो जायगी। लेकिन इन चीजों से जो सिर्फ इस ला में पड़ी रहेंगी, इनकी हालत नहीं सुधरने वाली हैं। मैं अपने जाती तजुर्बे से ऐसी बात कहता हूं। मैं यहां गुड़गांव कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी को रिप्रेजेन्ट करता हूं और आपको बतलाऊं कि यहां से कोई पन्द्रह मील की दूरी पर मेरे क्षेत्र में एक गांव मोलाहेड़ा हैं जहां पर एक हजार गज के अन्दर १०० घर अछूतों के हैं और ऐसे कितने ही गांव मेरी कांस्टीट्यूएन्सी में पड़ते हैं, आप जाकर देखिये कि उनकी क्या हालत हैं,

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

उनकी हाउसिंग डिफिकल्टी कितनी एक्यूट हैं, उनके मकान जहां पर वह रहते हैं "हेल" हो रहा हैं, लेकिन क्या किया जाय, वहां के डिप्टी कमिश्नर सुनने को तैयार नहीं, कोई बड़ा अफसर तवज्जह नहीं देता और गवर्नमेंट उनकी बात सुनने को तैयार नहीं, कोई ला ऐसा नहीं जिसकी रू से मैं कह सकूं कि उनकी हालत दुरुस्त करें। मैंने तवज्जह दिलाई कि "ऑफेंस बिल बी कॉग्निजेबुल," । अब गांव के अन्दर ऐसी सूरत हो रही हैं कि जब से हरिजन की भलाई का मूवमेंट चला हैं हरिजनों के ऊपर तरह तरह के जुल्म ढाये जा रहे हैं । पुलिस अफसर और दूसरे अधिकारी जो वहां पर तैनात होते हैं वह सवर्ण होते हैं, तहसीलदार थानेदार साहब सवर्ण होते हैं और नतीजा यह होता हैं कि कोई इनकी दादरसी करने को तैयार नहीं हैं और मैं कहूंगा कि यह आपका सारा का सारा "कॉगनेजेबुल ऑफेंस" महज कागजों पर ही धरा रह जायगा और उस पर अमल नहीं होगा । अगर आप सचमुच इनकी हालत सुधारना चाहते हैं और चाहते हैं कि यह ऊपर उठें, तो आप इनमें से तहसीलदार बनाइये, थानेदार बनाइये और सोशयल जस्टिस इनके साथ कीजिये और फिर आप देखेंगे कि आपके इस बिल पर सही तौर से अमल होगा । मुझे उम्मीद हैं कि मैं ने जो तीन प्वाइंट आपके सामने रक्खे हैं उन पर गौर किया जायगा और इस मामले में सरकार की ओर से रिएलिज्य दिखलायी जायगी । अगर अनटचेबिलिटी हटाना हैं तो सबसे पहले सारे म्युनिसिपल लाज तबदील करने पड़ेंगे और भंगियों की अवस्था की ओर ध्यान देना होगा और उनको उठाना होगा । भंगी ही इस देश के अन्दर ऐसे लोग हैं जिनको अनटचेबुल्स कहा जा सकता हैं, ऐसे आदमी बहुत कम हैं जिनके छू जाने से हम परहेज करें । अब अनटचेबिलिटी देश में उतनी नहीं हैं जितनी कि समझी जाती हैं ।

1 P.M.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Minister.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: I wish to speak for a few minutes if you permit.

Mr. Chairman: I am extremely sorry. It is already 1 o'clock and it was decided that we should conclude this today. So there would be no time.

Dr. Katju: We have heard very excellent speeches, except the last one, (*Interruptions*). Which was excessively thoughtful. My hon. friend has relieved me of the task of reading the appropriate article. He was himself, I believe, one of the framers of the Constitution. If there is no untouchability, he ought to have protested against the use of the word 'untouchability' in the Constitution itself.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: When did I say that there is no untouchability? I maintain that there is untouchability, but all these Scheduled Caste persons are not untouchables.

Pandit K. C. Sharma: Some of them are.

Dr. Katju: There was something which was abolished—that is, untouchability—and Parliament was directed to see that the enforcement of disability arising out of untouchability 'shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law'. This Bill is intended for a very limited object—and that will be my answer to almost all the speeches —and that is to declare the offences and provide for their punishment. This Bill does not intend to make the village, which my hon. friend says he visited—I have visited about five villages during the last four days, and gone into more Harijan houses than he did probably in five years.....

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The hon. Minister is entirely mistaken. I have all my life served the Harijans and done nothing else.

Dr. Katju: I think my hon. friend should know.....

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I may have visited ten times the number.....

Mr. Chairman: I expect the hon. Minister not only to address the Chair but also to appear to address the Chair. If he addresses hon. Members individually, perhaps there might be trouble.

Dr. Katju: Very good.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): He is giving provocation.

Dr. Katju: The intention of this Bill is to provide for punishment against disabilities arising out of untouchability. Most excellent suggestions have been made. My hon. friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, my guru, Shri Tandon, —every Member—suggested: We want jungle lands, we want waste lands, we want villages laid out, we want irrigation. My hon. friend Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava made a most remarkable suggestion—very fine; it appealed to me strongly! For five years appoint nobody—neither a Brahmin, nor a Muslim, nor a Christian, nor an Anglo-Indian; appoint only so-called untouchables—wrongly named. Of course, he knows the Constitution. The Constitution provides that there shall be no discrimination on the ground of race, sex etc. It provides for equality and all sorts of things. And he suggests,—curiously, of course, to please all the hon. Members.....

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: There is an exception in article 15 of the Constitution.....

Dr. Katju *rose—*

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am addressing the Chair. The hon. Minister was reading from article 15. There is an exception to that article which supports my system.

Mr. Chairman: Both the hon. Member and the hon. Minister are standing. They should resume their seats. Two members simultaneously cannot address the Chair and then claim that they are addressing the Chair. There must be some mistake somewhere. Therefore, we have to see that unless one member is permitted, he should not speak. I have allowed the hon. Minister to continue his speech. Therefore, unless any other Member gets permission he should keep silent.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Then I crave your permission to just point out the mistake.....

Pandit K. C. Sharma: Has he been allowed?

Mr. Chairman: He is asking for permission. Why should the hon. Member raise that question?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: There is an article in the Constitution, article 15, a clause of which says that according to that article so far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned, some laws can be passed or steps can be taken to see that their interests are advanced beyond the interests of other people. It was under that that I was suggesting that this could be done.

Mr. Chairman: That is all right. But can we decide these legal and constitutional questions by cross-arguments here? We will have to listen to the hon. Minister and then we can see. It is all right that he has brought it to the notice of the hon. Minister.

Dr. Katju: My hon. friend claims an extra privilege, namely, that everybody should hear what he has got to say by way of interruption. I am saying this seriously.

My argument is this. It is a very serious matter making these observations, namely, for ten years, if you want to do anything for the Scheduled Castes or the so-called untouchables, make appointments only from these people. We are all guilty people here and the hon. Member is their saviour. He says, for the uplift of the Harijans and for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes, only make appointments from them (*Interruption*). Is that good sense? I quite understand reservations. My point is that so far as this innocent Bill is concerned, the object is to make all disabilities punishable as offences. Every other suggestion that has been made in this House has really nothing to do with the point

[Dr. Katju]

now before us. You can bring in rules, you can make State Legislatures provide for giving them scholarships, for providing them with absolutely free education and provide them more reservations. I have no objection. I wish I could do that. My hon. friend Shri Tandon said, give everybody half an acre of land. Shri Asoka Mehta said, raise a land arms of one million people. Very fine. Let them all be from the Scheduled Caste pepole. I entirely agree. He says he is prepared to make out a scheme. But what has all this got to do with this unfortunate Bill? That is not the punishment for the removal of a disability. The disability is of the untouchables and the people who are to be punished are others. I am not saying whether they are touchables or *savarnas*. Here, we have been discussing for a day and a half or two days the various measures for the purpose of ameliorating and improving the economic, social and cultural conditions of the Scheduled Castes. That is a matter on which there is very little difference of opinion. I wish we could do it. But, how can I bring it in this Bill?

An Hon. Member: Why not?

Dr. Katju: This Bill purports to be in pursuance of article 17 of the Constitution. You may say that I should extend the scope of the Bill and call it the Untouchability (Removal of Disabilities) Bill and then say give them land, give them this thing and that thing.

When we come to consider the question of economic conditions, all of us go to the villages. As I said,—and that quite casually,—during the last four days, I have been in three different areas. Last evening also I was there. Apart from big landholders and the peasant proprietors, everybody is suffering. The houses are very small. In the village in which I lived, there were five people and five cattle living together. There were no dispensaries, no schools and all that. We all know it. Therefore, if you want to improve the economic condition, you will have to improve the economic condition of 70 per cent. of these people. That is what we are engaged in the first Five Year Plan and the second Five Year Plan and all that has got to be done (*Interruptions*). To raise this cry here, I submit, is not the proper course.

Now, my hon. friend the great lawgiver said that this Bill is unconstitutional. When I heard that I began to wonder whether I was standing on my head or heels. He said: 'The Bill is unconstitutional'. Why? He says: "You have declared all the Scheduled Castes as 'untouchables' ". Very well. There is going to be a Select Committee consisting of 49 people. I think a majority of them or a large number of them will be members of the Scheduled Castes. I give you an undertaking that if the Scheduled Castes or any member of the Scheduled Castes move an amendment or make any effort in this Joint Select Committee to say that they are not untouchables within the meaning of this Act and therefore the definition of untouchables should be restricted, I shall say: 'Well and good, it will be done'. Here when my hon. friend was speaking and when he said that *chamar* is not an untouchable and that he embraces him, cries came from various quarters saying: "No, no; you go into the villages and see". I hear—I have not been there at that precise moment—that *chamars* are not allowed to draw water from the well. Other members of the so-called Scheduled Castes are not allowed to draw water from a well. I hear that in Calcutta,—Prof. Mukerjee knows it—a barber would not shave a *chamar*. And my hon. friend says that they are not untouchables and that they are very good. What I say is, if that is the only point, namely, that the definition is too wide, it can be easily changed or easily restricted.

Then my hon. friend went further and he took my breath away when he

said: "What are you doing; an untouchable, a member of the Scheduled Caste changes his faith and becomes a Christian, a Muslim or any other, and you allow him to go into a temple?" Now, is that really a reasonable argument? I change my religion and become a Christian or Muslim because I do not believe in my religion. I do not want to go to worship in a temple and I should like to go to a church or a mosque. We are living in a sensible world. But, my hon. friend says: 'No'. He says that in order to please the Hindu community and to take advantage of this particular Bill a Muslim convert of the Scheduled Caste will deliberately go into a temple and worship Ramchandraji or Mahadeva. I ask you, Mr. Chairman—you are a man of great experience—how will you style that argument?

Mr. Chairman: It is not my work. (*Interruptions.*)

Dr. Katju: Here all Chairmen have always insisted that we should address the Chair and so I am addressing you. Now, let me know how you will style that argument? If a convert from the Scheduled Caste or any other section of the Hindu community—say a Brahmin—after embracing Islam or Mohamedanism deliberately wants to enter a Hindu temple, it ceases to be a question of untouchability and it becomes a question of 'shoe-beating'. It is perfectly all right to a muslim. Why should he go to worship in a Hindu temple? If he is a Hindu, let him go there. If he is not, then he is creating trouble. That is what we are dealing with. We are not merely raising an argument pointing out this fault or that fault. I say these are matters which can be easily corrected in the Select Committee.

Then, with regard to all the points that have been raised about economic betterment, I say they are beside the point. Let hon. Members bring Bills in the State Legislatures for economic uplift, improvement and greater services. Some hon. Members said that there should be a Harijan Ministry. I have heard that. We will have a debate soon on the Special Officer's report. I may tell you this flatly that you will not get a better Harijan Minister than I am for the Harijans. I am speaking with all sincerity.

Shri B. S. Murthy: We have no complaint about that. We want the hon. Minister to be there, but let him look after the interests of the Harijans.

Dr. Katju: What will a Harijan Minister do? The moment he becomes a Minister in the Cabinet, he looks after the interests of the 36 crores of people. There is this mistaken notion that the moment you become a Minister, you look after the interests of your community only and injure everybody else.

I do not want to take any further time. I should have gone on for another fifteen minutes, but the question is that the suggestions which have been made are suggestions wholly irrelevant and I say so with great respect, because that is not the object of the Bill. Please remember that this Bill deals, or professes to deal with what may be called 'public places' or a man's public life. In so far as a man's private life is concerned, you cannot legislate. Can you legislate, for instance, that every hon. Member, when he is in his own home, must dine with me or with anybody else? There are many of us here whose parents did not or do not dine with them. So far as private transactions are concerned, we require a change of heart. A change of heart does not come with the sort of eloquent speeches made for the purpose of pleasing the different individuals, but it comes by persuasion. Let my hon. friend, who was speaking about marriages of Harijan daughter, bring to me 100 such daughters, and I tell you I will give them over in marriage to 100 other Harijan boys. What is the good of putting forward the argument that untouchability can only be removed by marrying daughters of Harijans. Let him provide daughters from Saharsa or anywhere else and I shall see that they are married to people belonging

[Dr. Katju]

to Harijan communities. In this discussion, I find that completely irrelevant matters are brought in to try and create trouble.

I beg to move that the Bill be referred to a joint Committee.

Mr. Chairman: I will have to put the amendments before the House.....

Shri P. Subba Rao (Nowrangpur): I have given notice of an amendment to the original motion.

Mr. Chairman: There are two amendments, one from Shri Sadhan Chandra Gupta and the other from my hon. friend who just stood up, notices of which have been given after the discussion had begun. They are, therefore, too late and cannot be taken cognisance of.

Shri Bogawat: What about my amendment that the Select Committee should be from this House?

Mr. Chairman: I am coming to that.

Shri P. Subba Rao: The hon. Minister moved his motion on the 26th August, and on the 27th I gave notice of my amendment, but somehow the office suppressed it and yesterday I gave notice of it again.

Mr. Chairman: It is too strong a word to use at this moment. I do not know what had happened, but we have seen only today the amendment that the hon. Member gave notice of.

Shri P. Subba Rao: They have suppressed my amendment of the 27th.

Mr. Chairman: That can be dealt with afterwards according to the rules and we can find out how it all happened. So far as the present amendment is concerned, I cannot give my sanction or allow the Member to move it. The amendments that have been moved have been taken into consideration and the two amendments, one of Mr. Gupta's and the other of Mr. Subba Rao's, were received late and they have not been taken into the discussion.

Shri Sadhan Gupta: I cannot claim to be very familiar with the rules and procedure, but is it the rule that every motion for amendment has to be given notice of before the discussion starts?

Mr. Chairman: Normally, that is the rule, and every amendment that is received before the discussion starts, is to be taken into consideration, though the Chairman has power to allow other amendment that are received later. So far as Mr. Sadhan Chandra Gupta's amendment is concerned, it is out of order besides being late, because the scope of the objects and reasons of the Bill is restricted whereas the directions that the hon. Member's amendment seeks to give are much wider. On that account, I cannot take it. So far as the other amendments are concerned, I would like to know from hon. Members who have moved them whether I should put them to the House.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Sir, I withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Chairman: The next one is by Shri Somana.

Shri N. Somana (Coorg): I too would like to withdraw it.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Chairman: The next amendment is that of Shri Bogawat.

Shri Bogawat: I would like to impress on the hon. Minister that at least in Bills of this nature, we who know the real state of affairs in the country.....

Mr. Chairman: There cannot be any fresh discussion: I shall put the amendment to the House.

Dr. Katju: Will you permit me to intervene; it may be misconstrued as discourtesy on my part, if I do not clarify this matter.

The procedure about Joint Select Committees is adopted in order to save time, because if we have a Joint Select Committee confined only to Members of this House, then the Bill must go to the other House—whether they are elected or non-elected does not matter—and then there will be another Select Committee of their own and the result will be that much time will be taken. We want to get on with this Bill as quickly as we can. It is only with that purpose.

Mr. Chairman: It is only an appeal to the hon. Member; I do not wish to interfere.

Shri Bogawat: Then I withdraw my amendment.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Chairman: I shall now put the motion moved by the Home Minister to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That the Bill to prescribe punishment for the practice of untouchability or the enforcement of any disability arising therefrom, be referred to a Joint Committee of the Houses consisting of 49 members, 33 from this House, namely, Shri Upendranath Barman, Shri Narayan Sadoba Kajrolkar, Shri T. Sanganna, Shri Pannalall Barupal, Shri Naval Prabhakar, Shri Ajit Singh, Shri Ganeshi Lal Chaudhary, Shri Bahadurbhai Kunthabhai Patel, Shrimati Minimata, Shri Motilal Malviya, Shri Dodda Thimmaiah, Shri Rameshwar Sahu, Shri M. R. Krishna, Shri Ram Dass, Shri Nemi Saran Jain, Pandit Algu Rai Shastri, Shri Shree Narayan Das, Shri S. V. Ramaswamy, Shri Resham Lal Jangde, Shri Balwant Nagesh Datar, Shri P. T. Punnoose, Shri Mangalagiri Nanadas, Shri P. N. Rajabhoj, Rt. Rev. John Richardson, Shri A. Jayaraman, Shri V. G. Deshpande, Shri B. S. Murthy, Shri Vijneshwar Missir, Shri R. Velayudhan, Shri N. M. Lingam, Shri Mohanlal Saksena, Shri N. C. Chatterjee and Dr. Kailas Nath Katju and 16 members from the Rajya Sabha;

that in order to constitute a sitting of the Joint Committee the quorum shall be one third of the total number of members of the Joint Committee;

that the Committee shall make a report to this House by the last day of the first week of the next Session;

that in other respects the Rules of Procedure of this House relating to Parliamentary Committees will apply with such variations and modifications as the Speaker may make; and

that this House recommends to the Rajya Sabha that the Rajya Sabha do join the said Joint Committee and communicate to this House the names of members to be appointed by the Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee.

The motion was adopted.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock on Wednesday, the 1st September, 1954.